

PAN-AFRICANISM

*Political Philosophy and Socio-Economic
Anthropology for African Liberation and Governance*

Caribbean and African American Contributions
(VOLUME THREE)

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni



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Political Philosophy and Socio-Economic
Anthropology for African Liberation and
Governance:
Caribbean and African American
Contributions
(Volume **THREE**)

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About the Author

Dr Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni is Dean of the Faculty of Law and Deputy Vice Chancellor in charge of Research and Cooperation, Bamenda University of Science and Technology – BUST, Bamenda, North West Region, Cameroon. He is a prolific researcher, writer, designer, artist, musician, philosopher and poet, who has travelled widely in Africa and the world.

As the Cross-Cultural Coordinator and Trainer of the United States of America Peace Corps Volunteer Programme in Cameroon; he was nicknamed the “renaissance man” by some of his American Peace Corps friends who enjoyed him as a poet, a musician, a creative artist, designer, producer and a writer who, apart from French, Italian, German and English, he could also express himself in his mother-tongue “Mùngáàkà” and his father-tongue “Tángíkóm” and also in Pidgin the Creole language of West Africa.

His academic prowess is what has marvelled his friends who used to call him the “professional student”: with a BA in Philosophy, a BA in Theology and MA in Philosophy and Theology from the Pontifical Urbanian University of Rome after eight years of study, as well as a BSc in the Social Sciences from the International University of Social Sciences Pro Deo, Rome; an MSc in Anthropology with specialisation in Industrial Anthropology, from the University of Paris V Rene Descartes Sorbonne; an MA in History with specialisation in Economic History, and a PhD in Anthropology from the University of Paris VII Jussieu; an MSc in Political Science, with specialisation in International Relations, an LLM in International Law with specialisation in Comparative International and African Law and a PhD in Political Science from the University of Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne, Paris, France.

Homecoming to Cameroon after 26 years of study, research and travel all over Europe, and Latin America where he researched in social change in a Project for the Reforestation of the Andean countries - Columbia, Ecuador Brazil and Peru – PREDESU, under the supervision of the Director of the Bank of America for Development; and acquiring more Anthropological knowledge and insights in the cross-cultural miscegenation of the migrant with the native peoples and cultures of Latin America of the Pacific Coast, decided to restudy and redefine Africa.

He was able to appreciate first-hand the forensic dynamic archaeology of the peoples and cultures of the First Nation People (Native Indians) of the Maya of Columbia, the Ketchua and the Guarani of Ecuador and Brazil, the Inca of Ecuador and Peru with the Blacks and Europeans who have contributed to what he identified as “The Chocolate-Black-and Coloured Coast” of the Latin American Pacific Coast line which made him to call it the “Pacific Africa.” He also honed his research talents when he worked for several years as a research assistant at the French National Centre for Scientific Research – CRNS - at the Laboratory of Legal, Political and Economic Anthropology of the University of Paris I – Panthéon Sorbonne and became

one of the privileged alumni who rigorously attended the Levy-Strauss Conferences at College De France by the Sorbonne.

Back in Cameroon he plunged into fundamental research in various topic areas including development studies, conflict and peace-building in Africa, Art, Heritage Management and Public History. He now owns one of the largest Art and Anthropological Museums in Africa with over two thousand African Art Objects and Artefacts, with some dating up to two and three hundred years old. He has taught at several State Universities in Cameroon; and since 2004 has been a Visiting Lecturer at the Aalto University School of Economics and Business of Helsinki, Finland. Since last year he was recruited to teach Pan Africanism at the newly created branch in Cameroon of the Pan African University by The Afrin Union with Head Quarters at Addis Ababa.

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It was through her rigorous and assiduous method of scrutiny that this thesis was rejected for the first presentation for defence, because she complained it lacked the historical approach leaning more on the sociological approach. It was thanks to her strict but professional and encouraging guidance that I was able to come up with part of the work for the M.A. thesis, in History and the entire work which you now have before you today.

My gratitude also goes to my mentor and Supervisor of my PhD thesis in Political Science, Professor Michel Alliot, who also instilled in me the critical Cartesian spirit. After admitting me into the Laboratory of Political and Legal Anthropology, of the French National Centre for Scientific Research, Centre National de Recherche Scientifique – CNRS, as a research member, and assistant lecturer in law and political science, he also undertook to drill me how to become an accomplished researcher and an academician. I was very privileged that he and his wonderful wife Michelle Alliot Marie admitted me as a member of their family and gave me full support and access to their private and family library.

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My recognition also goes to Berinyuy Bruno Lukong, who went through the work and was able to give me more critical insights, especially on the Southern African contributions which I kind of presented superficially. His insights as a young person seeing this work from a much youthful perspectives made me readjust a lot of the work to entice the younger reader generation. I also thank him for his frank and subtle critique and initiative to propose pertinent Southern African Pan Africanists; and his enthusiasm in accepting to

write the prologue to this book. His selfless interest and endearing care has cemented the spiritual mindset and subconscious spontaneous optic fibres that bind and generate our intellectual engineering.

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My gratitude also goes to my mother, Bertha Leoga Sama Fokum, who encouraged me to devote my energy in writing to leave a legacy to the next generation. She advised me that seeing the wealth of knowledge and experience I had gathered from living and studying in Europe for twenty-six years, it were good for me to, either enter politics and take a leadership role, or go into writing to brain-drive the youths of tomorrow with the wealth of my knowledge and experience. I preferred and chose the latter and this is the result.

My deep and everlasting gratitude also goes to my soul-brothers Aquiles Sepulveda and Sergio Varas Olea, Steve Moffat, Andrejz Guteck and Louis Crusol, Sama and Godlove Bangha who have always encouraged me to carry on research and write. It equally goes to my beloved sisters Martha Nayah Kini and Mary Nsang Kini Ngwabo Ngwabo and to Regine Bella Foumane, my partner, friend and life accomplice, to Oluwa-Toyin the mother of my twin sons, who have opened for my the Yoruba rich and creative cultural universe; for their unflinching and resilient support. Their encouragement has been material, financial, emotional and psychological. Without their contributions and love, even though sometimes at a distance, I would not have had all the energy, assurances, comfort and finances as well as the creativity to carry out most of this mammoth research which requires travelling, documenting, buying and reading many books and papers and falling back on people who form the bridges we cross in our life quest for Happiness and Truth, and making other people happy.

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Final but not least this homage goes to my beloved father Henry Ghuchi Kini who had the sense to give me a name that would determine my life research forever. It also goes to the Dutch Missionaries and especially the Irish Missionary Reverend Father Thomas Kennedy who finally brought up my father who became an orphan at the age of eight months after his father Crown Prince Kini was arrested and assassinated in Mamfe by the Germans in 1912 for resisting their colonisational imperialism and dominion in Kom, Cameroon, which provoked the Laikom Palace Women Anlu Uprising and subsequent suicides of the Princesses and several Fon's Wives in revolt. That is how my father named me "Kini" after my grandfather to light his spirit of nationalism.

It was in his everlasting memory of courage and patriotism that I composed this poem and elegy in his honour titled:

Kaisar Reich

*They came with muskets
And Dane guns
These Nordic harbingers
Of mean crumbs
Of Civilisations who decided
That God was insane
To have created humans in
Divine likeness and diversities...*

*From their Platonic cave allegories of
Deformed visions they swore
To reset phenomena to suit their
Myopic loops of interpretations
And reduced the dynamic normative
Universe to their Arctic curves
To pitch their belief that the sun
Can only travel in their skewed optic horizon...
And so when they could see the
Sun standing at their height's zenith*

*To confirm that their world knowledge and
 World views were only half way valid
 They decided to invent new fictions to tie with their
 Sloppy and biased imaginations and judgements
 Thereby justifying their crude and ruthless
 Dehumanisation of Africa's Peoples and Cultures...
 So for each gun salute for the Greedy Kaiser
 Black heads rolled in their thousands
 From Gbea to Muanenguba till they arrived at the
 Bangwa resistance forest plateau Nyamkpe
 As Fontem Assonganyi also proved that
 German heads could be precious trophies in African Palaces
 Causing the ire of the deflated and confused Kaiser who
 At last sensed the impotency of his menopause bullets and Reich...
 Unrelentingly the apish infantry in their desperation to power
 Spared no lives and stopped at nothing to achieve their war orgies
 Razing down our lands with the fire of forced labour and
 The violently-bloody pacification of the Schutzgebiet
 Conscripting helpless youths, raping and taking women captives
 And plundering and laying waste the land in their wake
 Till the Mankon-Bafut Alliance broke the back bone
 Of the War-Mongering Civilisation Hydra
 That had abused the Galeoga-Zintgraft Blood Covenant
 And the Bali-German Human Development Trusteeship ...
 Kom-á-Ngeh was the last rampart that set the rocks of
 Laikom exploding and routing amok the stubborn aggressors
 Thus safeguarding the pride and heritage of a
 Resilient People born to stand up to fight back
 Like Crown Prince Kini and Prince Lo'o whose cold-blooded Execution by the Germans by
 hanging in
 Mamfe provoked the serial
 Suicidal sacrifices of the Palace Queens in protest for their Human Rights and Protection of the
 Dignity of Women...
 And the wonton rape continued as Kaiser was still furious and hungry
 For our wealth and resources sending his scouts on the rampage
 Not for love of Civilisation and victuals but for
 Fresh human flesh and blood, hunted-head trophies
 To accompany the gold and diamond finds of 1905 excavations in the
 Great Mountain Range from Boyo to Banyo rich in
 The diverse lucrative mineral resources which Germany*

So badly needed to boost its War and Strategic Industries...
Now the Symbolic-Wounds of German atrocities in
Cameroon toll in an abused traumatised generation
But Kaisar still refuses to acknowledge to pay for
The Hideous Colonial Crimes against Humanity and Debt in Human Blood
Typical of the massacres of the Herero people of South West Africa
The Shona and the Ndebele people of Rhodesia, the Bacongo and the
Baluba people in King Leopold's Ghost Empire of carnage and
Brutality...
But the same Kaisars today are still propounding Racially-Toned Human Rights...
As Danielle Mitterand and all the cohorts for Defence of Human Rights and Justice declare
that no Human Holocaust in history
Matches that of
The Jews as if the repeated Holocausts on Black Africans from the Barbarous Slave Trades
and Pogroms by the Semitic-Arabic Islamic and Judeo-Christian
European Colonisations can be quantifiably measured in tons of Material lead
Divested of the human-spiritual and Divine Nature of all created Peoples
As if the cry of devastating harrowing pain and sorrow of a Herero Woman or
Of a Kom Child or even a Congolese Old Man is
Different from that of a NAZIED JEW
Or a permanently ZIONISED PALESTINIAN...

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 19th August, 1978.

My invaluable and due gratitude and respect goes to the ever blessed memory of those Dutch and Irish Missionaries Rev. Father Kennedy who, apart from taking care of my father, from his very infant tender age, also educated him through High School and Professional Institutions. I would not have been what I am today without their joint human and spiritual efforts and convictions. I will never thank them enough for I am their indebted grand-son also.

I am short of words and even imagination on how to thank my able companions and friends of CHP International who made my home-coming back to Cameroon and Africa more meaningful and my culture shock much easier to bear and adjust to Cameroonian mentality and standards after 26 years in Europe. These are Joseph Wabo, Richard Agbortokor alias "Croc," Nelson Kaputo Kiwila, Anna Tatchum, Fanny Afana, Rose Njiwa, Richard and Ruth Chamegne Lekunze, Sylvie Ngolet Ngube, Paulette Ngoh Bahyiha – all the VIBs, Caren Hagen, Dairou Yaouba, Ahmadou Toukour, Ahmadou Mountapmbeme, Rogers Ntarzenyuy, Peter Ekindi, Etienne Ngwang, Ibrahim Salle, Julius Birun and President, whose friendship helped to rebuild my

African personality after the long 26 years in Europe. I am very grateful to all of them for their openness to accept and support all my cross-cultural idiosyncrasies. I cannot also thank enough Howard Raik, the Director of CHP International the Peace Corps Training Institute, for his concern for my wellbeing and to train me to become an accomplished trainer of trainers and coordinator for cross-cultural and development studies and research. I owe much of my success as a trainer and researcher to his very vigilant and caring disposition, his great financial support which has transformed me into his debtor forever. I hope we shall one day meet again so that I could pay back his humanitarian spirit and generosity.

My deep gratitude also goes to the American Diplomatic Mission and the Peace Corps of Cameroon and Africa. It also goes especially to Thomas Dougherty, who really trained me in Diplomacy and also took interest and supported my extra-curricular engagements in the Arts and Cultural field in building an Anthropological Museum of Art. It also goes to Gladys Viban alias Mafor, as well as to Mafor Mrs Thomson who also initiated and trained me with State Department funds in American Diplomacy. It goes to Mathieu Kwentcheu for the great support he has always given me a brother and friend. I got my discipline and drive to work from the Americans who right from my early boyhood days instilled in me through the Peace Corps Volunteer Programme the First Kennedy Peace Corps who taught us science, mathematics, arts and literature at Saint Joseph's College, Sasse, Buea, as early as 1962. I did not know that my life will evolve inter-weavily and still intensify at its zenith with the American very focused and go-getting and progress-driven lifestyle.

And if America applied that selfless spirit of success-driven and human-capacity building more, than the military battling prone syndrome that some Americans with the old timers' hangover are projecting today, then they would make more gains in human development than in military prowess.

The truth is that everybody loves America and the Americans. But the snag is that there are some Americans who still believe that the going must be on a hard iron boot-stamping of the world and dominate people instead of building people and making lasting friends out of them.

It was through this concern and love for America, especially after the Taliban attach on American Embassies in East Africa – Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, on August 7, 1998 that in commemoration of the dastardly incidents and casualties that ensued that I decided to be a Whistle-blower to alert America of some misgivings before it backfires that composed this poem when I served in the American Diplomatic Mission of Cameroon, titled:

The U.S.A. Mission Policy Medal

*You could absorb me into your youthful drudgery
As I could smell and inhale you in the electronic Wireless Files
Feeling and sensing how fleeting and ungrateful
This elusive life of 'African Salaries' seems unbefitting
For refinedly groomed actors in the Colonial Diplomacy who are obliged
Like me positioned in your shadow and urged to believe in a false halo...
I heard you had to leave us in a forensic anthropometric comma
Retracing the mysteries and intimacies of the Divine Comedy
We all play on time tracing out our birth to our forced destiny
Only to find out we are worth just a mean iota
When it comes to analysing and keeping data
In our belief to harness and control matter
In the values and empty titles we accumulate
In the people we tend to respect and emulate...
Dear Paul-Henri, my early dawn colleague Eboua
Confided and intimately confirmed to me
How the harsh anthropometrical relations
Between Big Boss and you had hastened
Your transition just like he too was hastily dispatched
To meet you in yonder-land of Sweet Chariots entrenched
To swing and carry you to freedom from indentured slavery
Because he too was not allowed to enjoy
The prescribed healthy bed rest
From the ergonomically frustrating
Wireless Files' morning routinely down-loadings
That are priced more precious
Than Human Life even though
You hold it as irreplaceable
And irretrievably Divine...
And I still wonder how long
Will the West keep on sending ungroomed
And Corrupt Diplomatic Missions
To Africa interested only in inhumane gain
And the corrupt racist discriminatory
Visa refusals based on the red tape bureaucracy...
Which not only breeds corruptions but
Measures the weight of the political status
Or the heavy moneyed pockets of the demanders*

*Swindled in the high racketeering diplomatic market
 Where the buyer is never given the rightful change
 And consideration even after the requested goods
 Cannot be delivered under pretext of no valid proofs
 Of returning from that First Nation People El-Dorado land
 Where no migrant settlers can claim exclusive rights
 Of sovereignty before Columbus and Montezuma
 The May Fair Refugees and the Pilgrim Fathers...
 Yet they are asked to re-invest for another gambling
 After six cyclic months without any consideration...
 How I wish I knew how
 To appreciate you better before...
 How I wish I could live frugally
 To honour you well enough...
 For the sturdy footprints you traced
 For me to tread so strongly upon...
 For the hot seat you left for me
 A support so strong and fragile...
 The apprehensions I had of you
 Now fade fast with dead time
 As my mind now embraces your flares
 Mystically in your God-light...
 They pay you and I racist African salaries
 Under the insulting braggery
 That there are many jobless hands to hire
 For any trash in spite of our grey matter
 Yet they admonish us to render
 American Jobs and Refinement
 Under slave driving bullies and squealers
 About Comrade Napoleon always being right
 In his might of a Drunken Mission
 Of Neo-Colonial Globalisation Diplomacy
 Of CLAd faked up dangerous Terrorists
 Based on a racialisation syndrome laced
 With religious systemic snow-ball sampling
 And Talibanisation of Africa to take control
 Of its natural resources,
 Its Wild Life resources banks
 And mineral resources
 In the rich crude oil*

Pipe-lined from raped Mundu-Chad to impoverished Batanga-Kribi
Or from Agades to Algiers and Oran to enriched megalomania Europe...
In the cobalt and nikel mines
From Lomie to Dja-et-Lobo...
And the Human Diveristy Lottery Visa
For Muscle and Brain drain Vital Forces
With high Brain-trust and think tanks
Certified to be HIV/AIDS virus-proof free...
To resuscitate the decadent
Inhumane economy of profits first
Before human life Ben-Ladenised and Talinabised
To justify the greedy economic stranglehold
On Africa's God-given natural wealth
Against Impoverished Africans
Tantalised and abused to fight the lost wars
Of America versus Russia
And Mao's Mighty Rising China...

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, 21st April, 2000.

My name Kini-Yen Kin(n)i in “Ítángkóm” means “Search and find and keep on searching.” I remember my father, even though he was very fond of me, telling me that I should not stop at anything till I am satisfied to have reached the source and summit of my endeavour and achievement. He taught me to be inquisitive from childhood. He and my mother used to tell us that “*Your treasure is your brain, because they can steal what you horde and keep. But nobody can steal what you have and store in your brain.*” My father and mother matched these words with deeds. He contributed by sending me money while in Europe, even though I was on scholarship, and encouraged me to travel to other parts of Europe and discover them for myself. He made me attend Summer Schools in other European countries. My mother also used to back up by sending me money for books. That is how I developed a huge library and successfully earned many degrees, certificates and diplomas in multidisciplinary fields of the Arts, Humanities and Sciences including Philosophy and Theology, Sociology and Anthropology, Archaeology and History, Political Sciences and International Relations, Clinical and Social, Child and Educational Psychology, Linguistics, Etho-Botany and Ethno-Zoology, Visual Anthropology and Ethno-Cinema, General Linguistics and Philology, Psycho-Linguistics, Ethno-Linguistics and Sociolinguistics; International Law and Comparative Law; and became a globe trotter visiting

the entire Western Europe and some Eastern European, countries including Russia and the Americas, learning and speaking German, French, English, Italian, and some survival Spanish; and discovered Europe, the USA, the Americas and half the world as Christopher Columbus and Mugo Park are said to have discovered the Americas and the source of the River Niger.

My father was so keen that I defend my PhD thesis before coming back to Cameroon. That is how I spent the first 19 years studying and researching in Europe without setting foot in Cameroon. When I decided after 26 years in Europe to come back to Africa, my Supervisor and mentor, Professor Michel Alliot, gave me the forms to fill for the French nationality. Because according to French Law, any foreigner who studies in France and defends the “Doctorat D’Etat” Thesis is given the French nationality just by mere application. I was offered teaching positions at the London University School of African Oriental Studies – SOAS by the Visiting Professor, Anthony Allot, in International Comparative Law on African Law at the University of Paris Sorbonne; as well as at the New York University by two Visiting Professors who were Visiting Lecturers in International Law offering lectures in Diversity Studies and American Law at the Sorbonne.

I remembered what my father used to tell me. Wherever you shall go, never forget to return home and share what you have achieved with your people and be of service to those less privileged than you. That is how I decided to make a try even though it was not so easy, even though my friends told me I was mad coming back to Africa after 26 years of studies and research in Europe. It is the fruit of this resilience, love and determination he instilled in me that I really am proud to share this achievement with my readers today, while I give him this endearing everlasting gratitude in recognition and honour.

This work would not have taken the aesthetics and its visual anthropological dimensions had it not been for the contributions of the various photographs that adorn this work with pictures of African and African American Personalities and Leaders from the African News Wire and the Pan-African News Wire File Photos' Photostream, as well as the Google Pictures Encyclopaedia. I cannot thank these great photographers enough who were so smart to catch and document for posterity to eternity these fleeting historical moments and personalities.

“The tragedy of life is not that we die, but what dies inside a man while he lives.” (Albert Schweitzer).

It has been a great experience to have mingled for some years now with a resourceful critical analyst and all round researcher, such as Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, for he is living and what lives in him is alive. It is a fascination as observed as to why young researchers will love to emulate him. This eclectic work and contribution to Pan-Africanism, has made him much more a proctor of the African Dream. If there was ever a time in history when humans should be aware of their identities; it is no time but now. All over the globe humans are facing identity crisis. In Africa particularly people are still starved from their own identity as the lack of awareness exist. Growth is progress and progress depends upon awareness.

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni has succeeded in this fantastic Herculean work on Pan-Africanism to reconstruct and present in one volume, for Africans and Africans of the Diaspora, the live-line of African awareness and their struggle to reconstruct and preserve a common ideology and philosophy to project their personality, identity, culture, and religious ramifications; as well as a policy for African Liberation and Governance from the 18th Century to the 21st Century.

At this point in time therefore this colossal work stands out as an evaluative mile-stone at the road-map-end of an epoch, and the opening of a more innovatively critical Liberation Philosophy and more challenging logistics and strategies for Black People to initiate a more racially-integrative people-driven sustainable political-economic governance at the threshold of the 21st Century. The task that lies ahead is like in Fongot Kinni's own words “...picking up the ugly shreds of a broken vase of the human ignorance and blood-letting conflicts and racial differences and to build up a more beautiful inclusive and harmonious melting pot of the Universal Humanism.” Fongot Kinni reconfirms Nyerere's Ujamaa saying of the African Cultural-socialist Philosophy of “I Am because We Are; and We Are because I Am” in this Universal Humanism by also insisting on what he calls the Chamba-Tadkon African Philosophy of: “*Mùn Bò Nùù Ntùn*,” “*Man Is The Greatest Essential Force/Cause of Being*”; which then leads to the other implication they hold that: “*Mùn Wú' Bò Nì Bùn*,” “*Man is Great only in People; for without People Man Is Nothing.*”

This philosophy of People-Driven Dynamism in Integration and Production is the end objective of Pan Africanism. This is end-purpose of the

Liberation Struggle for Humanity which Amilcar Cabral defines as the integration of all the *“Productive Forces of Humanity to build up the Common Heritage of Humanity for a more sustainable Universe.”*

Fongot Kinni-Yen Kinni, the African renaissance philosopher and researcher has not only furnished and provided his readers and future researchers with a new open space and a breathtaking linguistic anthropological literary wealth of modern and post-modern African thought as portrayed in the prose, poetry and music of modern Africana. He has also used his visual anthropological skills to make this work one of the most critical work, if not the richest work ever produced, on Pan Africanism and Pan African Philosophy of Africa’s Cultural Identity, Political-Economic and Religious Liberation Theology and Governance. The richness of the Visual Anthropological data hold the readers spell bound as they incite very deep emotions on beholding the actors and victims in their best or worst states in life while struggling to hand the baton of Pan Africanism to the new generation pf Africans who might not have had the privilege to live at that critical of the throes of Pan Africanism, as an Ideology, a philosophy and a way of life to African Liberation Fighters of all shades and colour.

This colossal work marks the turning of a new page of pro-active bonding and integration for all Africans and Peoples of African descent as well friends of Africa today, just as it can be identified as the “Final Call to End Slavery, Racism, Discrimination and Exploitation in the new integrative Globalisation of Peoples of the entire Human Race, their environmental, cultural and social resources for the common good of Humanity.” Wherefore it becomes very pertinent as it appeals to all Africans to turn a new page in their documented history of victimization and enslavement and become victors through their Resilient entrepreneurial Spirit of the African Phoenix always rising from the “Ashes of Doom and Deprivation” perpetrated by ignorant and immoral minds.

For the first time an erudite and assiduous African scholar has been able to give in a nutshell a coherent picture and both a critical mind-searching and exciting panoply of the African Renaissance since Slavery and Colonisation, on the common Ideology, Philosophy, the Cultural and the Liberation Theology and Practice for African Liberation, Governance and Development running through five centuries till this day. This work can rightly be called the coherent compendium and encyclopaedia of African Liberation Philosophy and Renaissance Practice for African Development and Governance.

What is entertaining in this Neo Pan African Philosophy propounded by the author is that while documenting on the atrocities Africans have gone through in the hands of very unscrupulous Nations and Peoples of other sub-

races of the Human Race, he advocates for a new reading of the raw facts as documented; insisting on the softer heart of forgiveness and finding new strategies and developing stronger coping skills and the equitable distribution of the wealth of nations as a common heritage to be enjoyed by everybody and all Humanity.

Advocating and promoting Pan-Africanism is a huge responsibility by the founders that is built on awareness, truth, freedom, equality and justice through Good Governance and Sustainable Development. Pan-Africanism is Pan-Humanism with more emphasis on the Black persons, their emancipation, freedom, interactions and above all their Awareness, Mentally, Spiritually as well as Physically in the Distribution of Power and Recognition of their Identity. Freedom lies not only in our actions but also in our desires as humans and Africans to enjoy our God-given Rights as Children of Light.

Therefore Black Humanism is not Anti-White but against inequality in the human race and disrespect for any of the Identities be they White, Black or any other Identities. Pan-Africanism is then an advocacy geared to completely break the boundaries of geography and geopolitics; as well as geo-racism and put a stop to the idea of isolation and repression of cultures. It is a Practice of Freedom open to everyone no matter the race or gender. It is a call for people with Awareness and Respect for the Human Identity and Freedoms that go with them. It is therefore imperative to know that, no practice or way of life will survive if its birth cannot be traced and its founders, initiators, prompters, proctors and advocates acknowledged.

Thus Pan-African cannot be examined without the possibilities of first possessing the clarity on who did what and what led to what, which is a very essential part of this encyclopaedic work. For it is in the Aspirations of the founding fathers and mothers, that our inspirations are born. The founders, prompters and proctors approached the struggle from different angles and directions with diverse strategies, using fearless initiatives to arrive at the same results. This was stimulated by an awareness of internal and external freedoms, through the interpenetrations of contraries to create harmony and stability. The final objective was to show how the essence of Blackness flows as a vital grounding asset to Humanity.

The Commander in Chief Toussaint L'Ouverture and Captain Jean Jacques Dessalines opted for armed revolution against their French Slavers and suppressors. Marcus Garvey dreamed and planned the Black Exodus of all Black people held in bondage in the Americas back to Africa their motherland. Booker Taliaferro Washington proposed that Black people accept the superiority of the White people and their inferior position, and settle down to develop their technical skills and agricultural skills. William Edward Bourghadt

DuBois proposed the theory of the Talented Tenth best few Blacks who were to be entrusted with the leadership and liberation of the Black people. Malcolm X opted for the theory of violence for violence and the Toussaint L'Ouverturean theory and practice of Armed revolution as the only solution for those who were under suppression and deprivation; Martin Luther King Jr. advocated for the Non-Violent Pragmatism of creating awareness in the mind of the Oppressors to lead them back to right reasoning. All these and others form the uncountable prompters and initiators who in their manners and strategies constructed a path for Africans to follow. Then the New-Wave Pan-Africanists in the persons of Kwame Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral, Muammar Gaddafi, Julius Nyerere, Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela to name a few focused towards the unification of the main land Africans, and Africans of the Diaspora, through reconciliation and the willingness to share truth and love, (UBUNTU) and basing their proctorships on the African Philosophical truth which teaches us that all of us are born great; and everyone has to work hard and share with his brother and sister; and pray to God to show him or her how to use their talents to achieve that greatness and become the great persons they were all destined to be in their particular contextual individual ways.

The New-Wave Pan-Africanism is therefore more than an ideology and a philosophy. It is above any religion, it is a way of life, a calling to higher awareness for humanity. It is this awareness that is needed for the establishment of our personality and our identity as Humans and Africans. So in this era that Africans are being flattered with more passion than ever before, a period of dynamic transition not static tradition is inevitable. It is then time to revisit and take deeper meditations with awareness on the words written in the anthems and stories the founding fathers sang and wrote the strategies they used. Thus in such a time more astonishing to the out-spoken “mental and academic vigilante” Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni has become, when isolation has much given way to globalisation in all spheres of life, Pan-Africanists, must therefore continually advocate equality, justice, pro-humanism, Good Governance, Sustainable Development and in all Economic and Political Integration of Africa and its Peoples.

We are opportune to be in this era of the Golden New Dawn of Inter-racialism and inter-racialisation, which is deeper and higher than the age of Enlightenment which was only Eurocentric and Racist. The political and ideological awareness and the imperatives of all good creativity, no matter the spring, are strategies for the promotion of self-awareness to the universe and all its resources that are a common heritage for all humanity to savour, by

adopting, adapting and assuming creative strategies for their transformation and distribution.

Though there are still some challenges to the collective endeavours of the founders, prompters and initiators in the endless struggles in contemporary Africa to establish formal integration and development, the major challenge which all Africans must face and tackle is the Unity of Africa. This was the dream of Marcus Garvey, taken up by Nnamdi Azikiwe, by Kwame Nkrumah who initiated the Organisation of African Unity, celebrated in song by Rastafarian Prophet Bob Marley, and consecrated by the new patriotic Pan Africanist Muammar Gaddafi who initiated the African Union. Though Africa is still tackling the challenges of national divide, corruption, induced poverty, social stratification, ignorance and both physical and mental enslavement, there is still a firm and emerging practice of advocacy to continually support and gradually confront these continental and global blisters with much awareness and self-determination, which are the keys to true freedom and emancipation.

Humanity therefore is fighting against injustice, against physical, mental and spiritual enslavement. Africans are fighting to gain equality and respect, by advocating Gender Equality and preaching the politics of Integration and Freedom through Good Governance and Sustainable Development. Pan-Africanism and its Humanistic Philosophy and practice are therefore the machinery for the attainment of this noble objective.

Pan Africanism and African Re-Renaissance are not fighting flesh or colour. Pan Africanism and African Re-Renaissance are fighting against a philosophy of slave-driven capitalist economy of exploitation and anti-humanism. Pan Africanism is using the creation of Awareness and Consciencism through an all Inclusive Racial Engineering and Pragmatism – IREP.

For humanity particularly Africans have been released since “Independence” from the hyper-physical presence of the slavers; but they are still subjugated, under their hyper-mental and spiritual colonisation suffering from the hangover-influence and hypnotic control which Nkrumah and Gaddafi identified as Neo-Colonisation.

This Neo-colonisation manifests itself in the process whereby the African has been groomed to become the new Slave-Master and Coloniser of his own people. These are the same Africans who are a hindrance to African Unity who opt for the Neo-Liberal-Pan-Africanism based on the same slave-driven capitalist economy surrogates in the persons of some contemporary African leaders. It is therefore time for the Awakened and highly Aware Africans to say:

‘We are Pan-Africanists, we are Pro- Humanism. We proclaim Pan-Africanism. Our whole Thought and Action belong to Humanism. We see no National or Continental Divide, or Racial Distinction before us, but a World of people who are joined by Blood, United by a Struggle for Freedom by Awareness and Subjected to the same cause.

This work therefore will establish equality in the milieu of differences and forge a higher awareness of freedom in the midst of religious divergence, cultural disparity and variations in both human and natural resources, enforcing a shared sense of camaraderie in the African Identity, in our Common Humanism.

Berinyuy Bruno Lokong
Researcher - Benue State University of Agriculture
Benue State, Nigeria.

Introduction

This Book is the outcome of a long project begun thirty years ago. The book can be read as a summary of most of the Crimes Against Humanity ever committed against Black People of the World and People of Black descent for over two thousand years of the Semitic Judeo-Abrahamic-Arabic-Islamic, Judeo-Christian-European-American initiation of the Slave-Driven Capitalist Economy and model of production. It can also be read and should be read as essentially depicting the various mind-sets of Ideological and Philosophical thought, skills and strategies Black People and people of Black descent re-invented the Renaissance Wheel by their resilience and strength of mind and spirit, to rise up and transform their situation of enslavement and poverty to craft the Renaissance Philosophy and Theology of Black Liberation for the entire Humanity. It is this story of the rise from the shackles of slavery and poverty to the summit of Victors of their Renaissance Identity and Self-Determination as a People.

This work was first presented for my Master Thesis in History at the University of Paris VII, where I worked on the contributions of the African American and the African Caribbean leadership in the initiation of Pan-Africanism and the founding of the Organisation of African Unity.

I later continued the study and research for the Doctoral thesis in History in the same University, then let it to lie in favour of my Doctoral thesis in Political Science at the University of Paris I-Panthéon Sorbonne and for the Doctoral thesis in Anthropology at the University of Paris VII. As I later continued the research on the subject I was able to read and discover that I was delving into one of the richest Moral Political Economy and Cultural Philosophy of Black Liberation which contributed to lay the foundations of Pan-African Humanism.

When I returned to Cameroon after my untiring twenty-six years sojourn for study and research in Europe, I decided to complete this mammoth work, looking into the recent developments of the OAU leading to the foundation of the African Union in the 21st century and the issues of governance, democracy and socio-economic and cultural sustainable development of Africa in the third millennium.

I was able to examine the most crucial issues confronting Africa fifty years after the founding of the OAU and the development of a blue print that was given by Kwame Nkrumah and the members of the Casablanca group for the development of African Unity and the eventual development of the United States of Africa.

It was interesting to see how after 50 years, a new Kwame Nkrumah was born in Colonel Muammar Gaddafi the new wave visionary and revolutionary who saw the vital need for Africa to be united and form a stronger productive force to take its place in the third millennium platform to pre-empt the tendency of imperialist globalisation and domination that would be worse than colonialism.

It would seem Africa is still ruled by the old school of the Monrovia club of those leaders who are very comfortable with the pigeon-hole so-called nation-states of Africa. The problem of balkanisation of Africa on post-colonial affiliations and colonial linguistic lines has taken its toll on Africa's building of its common identity and personality. The result is that Africans are more remote to each other in their pigeon-hole-nation-states which put more restrictions for African inter-mobility, coupled by education and cultural affiliations, the communication and transportation and trading networks which are still tied more to their colonial masters than among themselves.

This book looks into the problem of the new wave of Pan-Africanism and what strategies that can be proposed for a more participatory Pan-Africanism coming from the masses and not just from the club of the elitist class and the political class of kleptocrats and despots of the so-called autocratic democracies that have been popular in Africa for the past fifty years.

Bearing in mind that the bulk of the African population is young, that is made up of those born between 1970 and 1995, I realize that it is necessary to initiate the youths into the vision and history of Pan-Africanism so that they can get a clearer grasp of their past and those who fought for the liberation of Africa. It is intended to present a full concise picture of the African Political Liberation Philosophy, and to boost up their intellectual curiosity to see if they too could come up with alternatives for Africa's Unity and collective sustainable development.

That is how this book becomes at the same time an encyclopaedia of Who is Who and What is What in African Unity and Pan-Africanism. It is a very detailed research on the ideology and the humanist philosophy of Pan-Africanism. It is a celebration of African Americans, African Caribbeans and Continental Africans in their demise and tireless efforts which led to their success as a people who stood up to defend their human rights at a time when the neo-liberalist capitalism, racism, deprivation and colonization stood against their aspirations and self-determination.

This well researched book brings to the front stage the role counter-power plays in the arena of politics and socio-economic power distribution, and the obligation we all have as humans in projecting of the voices of the voiceless. This is where Marxism and the Comintern, Russia, China and especially

Cuba and some Western Humanist States like Sweden stand out tall, highly respected and beautiful in their fight against the perpetration of inhumane injustices and greed of some humans against other humans; and their fight against human rights abuses, no matter by whom they might be committed.

This book celebrates the tireless efforts made by anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist countries like Russia, China, Sweden, Norway, Finland and especially Cuba of Fidel Castro who did not spare their courage and determination, their financial, technological and material assistance, to bring an end to five hundred years of Western European Slavery, Racism, Exploitation and deprivation of the Black-African people and their descendants in America, Europe and Africa. Cuba sent Che Guevara to train the liberation fighters of Congo and Angola. Troops of Cuba fought for the independence and liberation of Angola, South West Africa, without any payment in return. Fidel Castro can be crowned the father of Southern Africa's liberation and the Cuban Dragon who strangled the Apartheid monster of South Africa. Africa can never pay him and Cuba for their humanitarian action and devotedness.

It is true that had these Humanitarian conscious nations of Europe, Russia, China and Cuba not dared to stand up to tell their Western Imperialist brothers and sisters that enough was enough; the Genocides, Slavery, Colonisation, Racism, Deprivations, Exploitation and Exclusion, as well as the rampant creation of Poverty would still have been going on to this day. And these ignorant Imperialists would have declared themselves the "Chosen People" and would still have been praying with the Pope like Pope Nicolas V who approved Slavery and the genocide of Black People because he classified them as animals and half humans; just like Pope Pius XII who approved the genocide of the Jews by Hitler, because they were accused of polluting the Arian Blood with Black Blood, to save the Vatican; as they would still have continued to pray and gloat over their crimes, thanking God for having created some people to be slaves and servants of the strong and mighty forever. And as Frederick Douglass puts it succinctly, we should have forever remained thanking God for having made us inferior, when he gives his experience as a "Christianised Slave" who was always reminded by the Preacher to thank God for his sufferings and poverty:

"Oh! how grateful and obedient you ought to be to your masters! How beautiful are the arrangements of Providence! Look at your hard, horny hands--see how nicely they are adapted to the labor you have to perform! Look at our delicate fingers, so exactly fitted for our station, and see how manifest it is that God designed us to be His thinkers, and you the workers--Oh! the wisdom of God!"--I used to attend a Methodist church, in which my master was a class leader; he would talk most sanctimoniously about the dear Redeemer, who was sent "to preach

deliverance to the captives, and set at liberty them that are bruised"--he could pray at morning, pray at noon, and pray at night; yet he could lash up my poor cousin by his two thumbs, and inflict stripes and blows upon his bare back, till the blood streamed to the ground! all the time quoting scripture, for his authority, and appealing to that passage of the Holy Bible which says, "He that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." Such was the amount of this good Methodist's piety."

The Western neo-liberalist capitalist countries are competing and accusing today these very countries, who contributed to save Africa out of their Humanitarian Spirit, of recolonising Africa. But they forget that what these countries like China and Russia, Japan, Korea and some of the Humanitarian countries like Sweden, Norway, Finland, have to show for the short time, say fifty years in their transactions with Africa and development missions in the field of education, technological transfer, infrastructure, cross-cultural development and others, is by far and immeasurable as compared to what the colonial imperialist countries have done in five hundred years of transactions and inhuman exploitation of Africa.

This is how this book on Pan-Africanism becomes also a celebration of those humanitarian and philanthropic individuals, collectivities/communities and nations who stood their ground to break the vicious cycle of human rights abuses, racism and deprivation of Black people of the United States of America, Europe and its colonisation mission and enterprise of the people of Africa and the Apartheidised people of Kenya, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, (Zambia and Zimbabwe), South West Africa (Namibia), and South Africa.

This research goes into the details of the radical revolutionary Pan-Africanism of Southern Africa by the ANC, the revolutionary movement of Northern and Southern Rhodesia – Zambia and Zimbabwe; and in the Portuguese colonies of West African Guinea Bissau and Southern African countries of Angola and Mozambique.

What this book brings new to the public about Pan-Africanism is the balanced gender touch and diagnosis of the Women actors of Pan-Africanism which was very much lacking and was never celebrated by the hyper androgynous and patriarchal programme that Pan-Africanism was reduced to. Classical Pan-Africanism has always been presented and seen as a masculine project with its high patriarchalism. I have therefore endeavoured in this book to research on the various African women both in the Diaspora and on the continent who were the initiators, movers and shakers of the imposed sclerotic human rights abuses and repression of Black people and the fostering of the Pan-African project right from its inception. We have to celebrate and thank

them and let our children learn to give them that invaluable honour they deserve. We have to celebrate that duality that African civilization has always been made of and celebrated right from Ancient Nubia-Egypt, land of Kemet still towering and displaying today in its Pyramidal tombs and University Temples, the ineffaceable dignity, identity and power of the man and woman as beings created equal by God.

It thus becomes a vital contribution to Gender and Women Studies Departments in the world to appreciate the contributions of African American, African Caribbean women and African women on the continent from time immemorial, from Ancient Nubia-Egypt, and especially from Arab and European Slavery, Colonisation in Africa and during the Apartheid regime blunder of South Africa.

This poses the question of women's leadership in modern the platform of Pan-Africanism and the African Union; and in neo-post Colonial Africa; and the need to fostering the new Revolutionary Wave of Pan-Africanism at the grass roots and among the youths of Africa and the African Diaspora in America, Caribbean, Mezo-America and South-America, Europe, Asia, Papua, Australia and Oceania. It also poses the role of African youths and their initiation into Pan-Africanism as the future initiators and movers of governance, sustainable entrepreneurship and development in Africa.

It also poses the question of UBUNTU as proposed by Nelson Madiba Mandela and Desmond Tutu of South Africa and the problem of African Renaissance and African Identity and Personality; which, on the contrary, is thwarted by the very xenophobic tendency of the youths of South Africa today against Africans from other regions; despite the fact that these were the very people who helped to contribute to the South African fight for liberation.

The study of Pan-Africanism has a vibrant lesson to teach all disinherited people of the earth, just as it shows how self-determination and non-violence, at every stage in life is what is necessary for success. It shows that the spirit of the African Philosophy of the interpenetration of contraries, according to Dika Akwa Nya Bona Mbella; as opposed to the Indo-European Semitic permanent opposition binary vengeful contraries an Eye for an Eye, of White against Black, Good against Evil, God against Satan. It teaches us that self-determination and non-violence building for peaceful and harmonious coexistence of humans and nature does not end till our life span is over and our contribution to the uplifting of humanity is finally achieved.

That gives me the honour to present this book as the tribute and celebration of the efforts of the African American and African Caribbean Diaspora who took the initiative and the audacity to fight and liberate themselves from the shackles of slavery, starting with Toussaint L'Ouverture,

Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey Douglas, Marcus Garvey, Booker Taliaferro Washington, William Edward Bourghadt Du Bois, Harriet Truman, Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, Mary Morris Burnett Talbert, Mary McLeod Bethune, Ida Bell Wells-Barnett, Julia Cooper, Rosa Parks, Zora Neale Hurston, Claudia Cumberbatch Jones, Marian Anderson, Zora Neale Hurston, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Amy Ashwood Garvey, Hubert Henry Harrison, James Mercer Langston Hughes, Paul Leroy Robeson, Countee LeRoy Porter Cullen, George Padmore, Harry BelaFonte, Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson, James Baldwin, Una Maud Victoria Marson, Amy Jacques Garvey, Paulette Nardal, Susan Césaire, Aimé Césaire, Léon-Gontran Damas, Frantz Fanon, Walter Rodney, Angela Davis, and those many other contributors I cannot name here. These valiant brothers and sisters of African Diaspora took the initiative to emancipate themselves through their dogged self-determination and to tend the humanitarian hand towards their brothers and sisters condemned in the indentured slavery of colonial Africa. That is the reason I duff my hat to celebrate their invaluable efforts and contributions to African liberation. Africa owes them this duty of honour and respect.

The lesson they all taught Africa is multiple: it is true that if we have to remain always lamenting about slavery, colonisation and victimisation and transforming ourselves into victims instead of using the very negative resources that have colonised us and enslaved us and rebuild ourselves like the Black enslaved People of the Americas, the Chinese or the Koreans of Asia to become victors; then we shall never provide new alternatives for change and development, as Martin Luther King Junior did, when he said “I have a Dream,” and walked and worked towards achieving that dream some fifty years ago.

This book also celebrate those Africans who in their own way, carried the torch of inspiration and resilience to save and reconstruct the Free Humanism of Africa, like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkruma, Jomo Kenyatta, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Hastings Banda, Prince Kojo Tovalou Houénou, Léopold Sédar Senghor, Patrice Lumumba, Lamine Guey, Sekou Toure, Modibo Keita, Houphouet Boigny, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Winnie Mandela, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo, Steve Biko, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma, Amílcar Cabral, Sam Nujoma, Agostinho Netto, Samora Marchel, Chris Hani, and all those Freedom Fighters who endeavoured to interact with the African Americans and especially the African Caribbeans to initiate and foster the liberation of Africa. Credit still goes to those African Americans and African Caribbeans who had finally settled in Africa, like Edward Wilmot Blyden, James Africanus Beale Horton, Herbert Macauley, Joseph Merrick and others who settled and took the initiative to foster the

African identity and personality as well as the African liberation from within Africa.

Pan-Africanism also found a strong voice, support and following in the Arab world, starting with the efforts of Duse Mohamed Ali of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Habib Bouguiba of Tunisia, Ahmed Ben Bella of Algeria and Muamar Gaddafi of Libya. And this is why notwithstanding the fact that the Arabs were those who first started slavery in Africa and finally colonised Africa, they were able to see the indecency, the human rights abuses and deprivations that slavery caused and the negative aspects of barbaric colonisation which did not cater for the integration and interest of the colonised. That is how with their conviction in the humanism of Pan-Africanism, the Arabs turned around to support the fight against colonisation in Africa. The Arab states of northern Africa were in the forefront in sponsoring financially and materially the liberation movements like the ANC, SWAPO, ZANU in South South Africa, Zimbabwe and South West Africa. Muammar Gaddafi contributed much to the ANC fight against the Apartheid regime, as Mandala Madiba confirmed.

It was for this reason that Muammar Kaddafi in 1989 founded the Al-Gaddafi International Prize for Human Rights, to be awarded to figures from the Third World who had struggled against colonialism and imperialism. In nominating Nelson Mandela as the first year's winner as a South African Anti-Apartheid Activist, he was recognising and advocating this alternative Victor-Hero of Change for Africa and the world that Nelson Mandela had become.

So also when in the spirit of Pan-Africanism Muammar Gaddhafi on October 2010 apologised openly for the Arab Slave Trade that contributed to decimate, dehumanise and impoverish Africa, he was, thereby assuming the Vicariate Responsibility, telling Africans that if Arabs had reduced them to "Victims" of the human ambiguities of the "Inferno," "Hell" of the Human Comedy; then now is the time for Africans and Arabs to rise up as "Victors" of their Differences, and establish the permanent interpenetration of their Contraries, for the good of Humanity and Africa.

The celebration of this "Black Victory" would not have been possible without that brave and courageous decision of a Giant of Humanism John Fitzgerald Kennedy, who, against all odds, rose up against the American Ku Klux Klan – KKK ideology of White Supremacy and Dominance for ever. Like Martin Luther King he stood up to say "*There comes a time when silence is betrayal of humanity.*" And though he had to pay with his life and blood to break the chains of Racial Segregation and Deprivation of Black people in America, His heritage for humanity will ever rise to tower high in the minds of all human generations to come. He, like that Prophet who was not only rejected

but also assassinated by his own people because he dared oppose the inhumane wrongs and injustices of some powerful humans against weaker humans, tended to America a Manifesto of Change on a Platter of Gold when he created the Peace Corps Volunteer Movement. Because he was a man ahead of his times he foresaw and opted, in the heart of the Cold War, for peace-building to debunk the American defeat and hate in Vietnam. As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of his assassination and legacy which has for ever created the awareness of his humanism in the minds of the new generation, must all become the Kennedy Peace Corps torch-bearers in the world today to foster a more humanistic and peace-driven world.

Kennedy had hoped to prove Frederick Douglas wrong who said that: *“America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future.”*...when he initiated the Peace Corps to propagate his mission of Love and not War. Had his prophecy been heeded to, America would not have created today the Talibans and the Alquaeda and the War-Mongering George Bush or the Drone-Addicted Barack Obama. America would have used and invested the zillions of Dollars he has spent and is still spending in aggression and WAR in the Peace Corps to bring hope and the American Dream to the world.

Had America embraced the Kennedy Peace Policy, America would not have created the Afghanistan, the Iraq, the Palestine, the Libya, the Egypt, the Syria, the Liberia of Blood Diamonds, Sierra Leone of Child Soldiers, the Genocidal Rwanda, the alleged bomb-test earthquake of Haiti like the alleged genocide Neutron Bomb Test on Lake Nyos and the recast of the Ghosts of King Leopold “Congos” we have in Africa and the world today.

And the World Super Powers would have invested in the scientific research for World Peace-building instead of their craze for the development of weapons of mass destruction - WMDs, biological weapons –BW, and the Nuclear Bomb and Neutron Bombs which the Super Powers are vying to out beat each other in excelling in their productions while dissuading Iran from possessing her own Nuclear Bomb like the Israelis, France and the U.S.A.; who are accused for not being satisfied with their Nuclear Bombs, which France had the guts to test in 1954 in the African Sahara, but went ahead to produce their Neutron Bombs in the 1990s.

Had it not been for the obstinacy of Western Powers and the other Super Powers like Russia and China who instead in investing for scientific research on World Peace-building, have excelled in scientific research on the production and proliferation of these weapons of mass destruction – WMDs, like the biological weapons – BW they sold to Syria and even to the Highly Indebted Poor Countries – HIPC; the Emerging World Powers – EWPs like

North Korea, India, Pakistan and Iran would not have embarked on producing their Nuclear weapons and all sorts of WMDs despite their stark social injustices and stark poverty of the masses.

The Super Powers would not have provoked the popular suspicion (Ngwa, 2013) in the minds of the helpless poor which holds that the Lake Nyos disaster of 26th August, 1996, just like the disasters in Twin Lakes Mounoun in Fumbot, Cameroon, in the 1990s before Lake Nyos, were Neutron Bomb tests of America and Israel as well as of France in Cameroon. Popular opinion would not have been promoting the notion of the old racist theory and the racial-divide syndrome when it comes to experimenting of weapons of mass destruction, biological weapons, and weapons of mass poverty – WMP in the Third World Countries and far away from the Super Powered countries where these WMDs are produced.

Even though John Fitzgerald Kennedy was not Black and African, he was that mighty Pan-Africanist who embraced the Humanitarian Ideology of Pan-Africanism and fought in the ranks of its militants and gave his life for their cause. He has since been fighting through the Peace Corps not just the Civil Rights War in America, but also the Neo-Colonial War, the Mental Liberation War of Ignorance, Poverty and Hate in Africa and the World. John Fitzgerald Kennedy will forever stand top high as one of the Greatest Assertive Sphinx of Humankind, by Martin Luther King Jr., who used non-violence to fight for the “African Renaissance” and the engendering of Peace Plant (Corps) and Love to the World. It was for this Kennedean Humanitarian Resilience and Foresightedness that I was forced to pay this humble Homage and Recognition in this Poem entitled:

Celebrating Kennedy's Peace Corps

*The Valiant Kennedy Dream
Girls and Boys were called
'Miss' Betty Hughes, 'Miss' Pena,
'Mr' Bismyer and Douglas Dorr
The star studs on the
Ambassadorial role models and
Flag-Bearers of the Kennedy USA
World Peace Corps at a Cold-War era with
The Heated Vietnamised-Cambodiased
War in Asia, the
Congolesed Lumumban Domino
Civil War in Colonial Africa and the*

*Che Guevara Castroan War in
Central and Latin America
Through Southern Apartheidist Africa...*

*In the Sasse College
Victorian-Eton niche by the Buea
Mountain forest young critics doubted
The irony of Peace-Corpsing coming
From a country whose hands were
Still vilely wet with the blood of the
Southern vibrant Civil-Rights NAACP Activist
Medgar Evers cold-bloodedly lynched by
The White Supremacist Ku Klux Klaners
Who do not believe in the DIVINE
HUMAN RACIAL EQUALITY Doctrine...
Nor in the fact that all Americans
Are equal under the same banner...
Under the Amended Constitution...
Under the same Monroe Doctrine of
America for All Americans...!*

*The triple Kennedian policy of
Bringing in the new Peace Message...
Of bridging the chasm of ignorance
Racial misunderstanding and jingoism...
Learning new cultures and bringing
Back home to head-start America's
Investing in the new Humanitarian
Dream bridging up racial
Divides and cultural contradictions
And beliefs into a mellow
Streamliner in the renaissance world
Of dialogue spurred up the
Courage of Resilience and Determination in every
Mind, Heart and Muscle to plant the
Evergreen Peace tree...
At every shore...
On every mountain...
In every valley...
In the Universal Planets...*

*In every Black Holes Exhaustions to
Reach God the All-Mighty Creator...*

*For almost half a century of contradictions
The Peace Corps Tree has grown and
Succeeded to root its imprints and essence
In the hearts and minds of every
Admirer and stakeholder in the
Brave venture which brought together
Devoted men and women of all callings to
Build on the human strengths and
Weaknesses of those great pioneers to
Recreate a world void Spiritual Feelings and Knowledge...
Full of Human Ignorance and Misunderstandings...
Hunger, Sickness and Poverty...
Of Misinterpretations and Misrepresentations...
Racism, Hatred, Biases of Apartheids...
Building Impermeable Racial Greed–Hate
Walls which only Peace, Love and Service to
Humanity can Eternally Break Down...
To Mould New Mettle-Chains of Golden-Peace
For Golden-Humanity Enmeshed in Golden Unity...*

*Proud Product of this great endeavour
Uniting great hearts and minds the world
Over, I now stand in all honour
A living testimony to this
Kennedy American Dream to which
I pay vibrant homage in all humility and
Grateful recognition to all U.S. American Peace
Corps Volunteers wheresoever
They may be found today to Celebrate
The Devotion and Love Freely and Generously Given to
Those who in their own little
Way are contributing to make the
Kennedy American dream a
Living Uniting Force for all
Humanity to Raise up high the
Torch of Enduring PEACE and
Enduring LOVE for the World...*

For Humanity...

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Buea, 14th September 2001

This is how in the same spirit of “Victory” of Pan-Africanism, we should celebrate the Humanism of Pan-Africanism in the same manner in which Bill Clinton, in 1998, apologised for the American Slave Trade. By his pronouncement he thus paved the way for the Victory of the once Black enslaved people through the realisation of the Dream of Martin Luther King Junior in Barrack Obama who, like Madiba Mandela, has become the Symbol of Victory of the Humanism in Pan-Africanism; and the embodiment of the monumental Victory of all Black and White people in America, in Africa and all the oppressed People of the World.

But credit must also go to Hilary Clinton who in her own little but very significant manner took the more pragmatic part to broke the glass ceiling for Africa; just as she broke the glass ceiling for Women in America by standing for the Presidency, when she stood up to challenge Aid syndrome for Africa to propose Free Trade. Hilary Clinton said that it was high time America empowered Africans by opening the free market doors for African goods into America. She was the advocate and initiator of AGOA – the African Growth Opportunity Act, which would empower Africans by giving them and their productions in Art, Textiles and Clothing, Food and you name them, access to the American markets without tax. By introducing the AGOA, Africans have been empowered to take charge of their own destiny and money making, instead of depending on the Foreign Aid vicious cycle. So we must say Kudos to Hilary Clinton and to George Bush who supported the AGOA during his term of presidency to make it real and successful to benefit Africa.

It is my prayer and hope that this book will be adopted by the newly opened Pan-African University and other Universities in Africa and higher institutions of learning in Africa and the African Diaspora. Pan-Africanism must become a bed-side Bible for the New African, for the New Humankind. It would also be very timely for Western and European Universities to enlighten their youths about the atrocities of Slavery, Racism, Imperialism and shameful and inhuman Exploitation of Man by Man perpetrated by some of their ancestors and today leaders.

It is the first book of its kind that gives a comprehensive and multidimensional coverage of Pan-Africanism that has never been attempted by any researcher before from my knowledge and long years of research on Pan-Africanism. It becomes a very timely and vital compendium for philosophers, historians, anthropologists, political scientists, political economy specialists, governance and policy studies, peace studies, human rights and

minority studies and gender studies on Africa, the Caribbean, America and Europe.

My readers should take note that I have used throughout this work the term “Congress” deliberately, ignoring the separation between Congress and Conference. I take the definition at face value as synonymous as being a gathering of delegates of international calling for discussions on matters of common interest or concern. Seeing that right from its founding the Pan-African Congress of 1900 was comprised of delegates of international calibre, I decided to call all the various congregation of Africans seeking a common ground of interest and concern for solving African issues, Congress to give a simple chronology for the linguistic neophyte. It is deliberate to reach the grassroots instead of remaining on the superficial quarrelling with semantics that is fruitless.

Glossary of Acronyms

AB - Afrikaner Broederbond
AAPC - ALL-AFRICAN PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE
AETD - Applied Engineering and Technology Directorate
A L - Arab League
ACOA - American Committee on Africa
ARPS - Aborigines Rights Protection Society
ANA - American Negro Academy
AGOA - Africa Growth Opportunity Act
AGLOSO - Attorney General's List of Subversive Organisations
AU - African Union
BBC - British Broadcasting Corporation
“Boko-Haram” – Western Education and Culture are Anathema
CAA - Council on African Affairs
CAW - Congress of American Women
CFGT – Confédération Française Générale des Travailleurs, “French General Confederation of Workers” (the French Communist Labour Union)
CM - Crisis Magazine
CommIntern - Communist International
CNDP - National Congress for the Defense of the People
CofC - Committees of Correspondence
COMESA - Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CP - Communist Party
CPGB - Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSA – Communist Party of South Africa
CPUSA - Communist Party of United States of America
LCP - The League of Coloured Peoples
CRC - Civil Rights Congress
CUWS - Congressional Union for Women Suffrage
DFID – Department of Foreign and International Development
DGSE - General Directorate for External Security - *Direction générale de la sécurité extérieure*. It is the military external intelligence agency, which succeeded to the *Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage* (SDECE) in 1982 (itself preceded by the *Direction Générale des Études et Recherches* (DGER), dependent of the BCRA.
ECA – Economic Commission for Africa
ETA – Euskadi Ta Askatasuna – Basque Homeland and Freedom (Basque Nationalist and Separatist Organisation in Spain)

FAAS - Foundations of African American Sociology
 FAO - Food and Agriculture Organisation
 FBI - Federal Bureau Intelligence
 FDLR - Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda
 FGM - Female Genital Mutilation
 FLN - National Liberation Front (Front de Liberation Nationale)
 FNLA - National Front for the Liberation of Angola (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola)
 FAM - Free Aceh Movement (Indonesia)
 FRELIMO - FRENTE DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE MOÇAMBIQUE, English
 Mozambique Liberation Front,
 IAS - International African Service Bureau
 ICGR - International Crisis Group Report
 IWW - Industrial Workers of the World
 LMP - Lonmin Makarina Platinum
 KKK - Ku Klux Klan
 MNLF - Moro National Liberation Front (Philippines)
 MPLA -- Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola)
 MSF - Medicines Sans Frontier
 NAACP –National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
 NACW - National Association of Colored Women
 NATO - North Atlantic treaty Organisation
 NCBWA - National Council of British West Africa
 NEC - New Era Club
 NCCW - National Conference of Colored Women
 NCNW - National Council of Negro Women
 NVC - Nasserite Volunteers Centre
 OECD - Organisation for European Economic Development
 OAU – Organisation of African Unity
 OIC - Organisation of Islamic Conference
 PAIGC - Partido Africano da Independencia da Guinea e Cabo Verde
 NAACP - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
 PAIGC - African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde),
 PDA - Democratic Party of Angola (Partido Democrático de Angola)
 PRDS - Democratic and Social Republican Party
 RB - Red Brigades (in Italy)
 RAF - Red Army Faction (in West Germany)
 RA - Red Army (in Japan)
 RDA - Rassemblement Democratique Africain

RMN - La Révue du Monde Noir
 SAP – Structural Adjustment Policy
 SBLF - Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua
 SFIO - Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvrière – French Section of
 International Workers (the French Socialist International Workers' Union)
 SLWM - Sierra Leone's Women's Movement
 SLPP - Sierra Leone Peoples Party
 SNCC - Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.
 SWAPO - South West African People Organisation
 T T – “Tallented Tenth”
 UAC - United African Company - Richard Lander Company
 UAR - United Arab Republic
 UCLA - University College of Los Angeles
 UK – United Kingdom
 UNAIDS – Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
 UNDP - United Nations Development Plan
 UNCTAD - United Nations Conference for Tariffs, Trade and Development
 UNESCO - United Nations Educational and Scientific and Cultural
 Organisation
 UNIFEM – United Nations Development Fund for Women
 UNFPA – United Nations Fund for Population Activities
 UNGA - United Nations General Assembly
 UNIA - Universal Negro Improvement Association
 UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund (formerly – United Nations
 International Children Emergency Fund)
 UNITA - National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (União
 Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola)
 UNO – United Nations Organisation
 UNFP - Union Nationale des Forces Populaires
 UPA - Union of Angolan Peoples (União das Populações de Angola)
 UPC - Union des Populations du Cameroun
 USA - United States of America
 USAID - United States Assistance for International Development
 USWCCP - United States National Women's Commission of the Communist
 Party
 USSR- Union of Socialist Soviet Republic
 WFs - White Feminists
 WASU - West African Students Union
 WASP - White Anglo-Saxon and Protestant
 WISFA - White Superiority First Alliance

YCL - Young Communist League
YMCA - Young Men's Christian Association

The Seventh and the Eighth Pan African Congress of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania – 1974 and Kampala, Uganda- 1994: The Radical X-ray of the Balkanisation and Neo-Colonisation of Africa by the African Petty Bourgeoisie

13.1 The Seventh Pan African Congress

The Seventh Pan African Congress in Dar es Salaam of June 1974, was organized and sponsored by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of the Republic of Tanzania, Dr. C.L.R. James, Vincent Harding, Lerone Bennett, Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey, Eusi Kwayana, Mrs Shirley G. DuBois, Dr. Norman Girvan, Sylvia Hill, Judy Claude, Geri (Stark) Augusto, Jo Anne Favors, Ka (Kathy) Flewellen, Loretta Hobbs and Edie Wilson, and other prominent background well-wishers and advocates of Pan Africanism.

Participating Regions included all African and Caribbean Governments, South America, North America, Europe, Australia, and the Pacific Islands.

It must also be stated that the call Australian and Pacific attendees of Pan Africanism has never been very consistent and pertinent. This stems from the fact that although there are African aborigines in East Timor, Papua New Guinea, Kaledonia, Australia and Pacific Islands and Oceania, Pan Africanism has never really taken them seriously on board. It would seem that the Pan Africanism of Americans, Caribbeans and Africans had concentrated more on the liberation of Blacks in Americas, the Caribbean and Africa more than on the liberation of Africans in Papua New Guinea, East Timor, New Kaledonia, Australia, the Pacific Island and Oceania.

The various Liberation Movements were asked to send delegations since they were considered as representing the most critical and necessary weapons in the arsenal of the Pan African struggle.

This period of launching of the Seventh Pan African Congress was considered by La Tasha Levy, (2008) to be the “critical historical period in world history, especially within the Pan African world.” The Conference organizers had as main objective to carry on with the legacy of Henry Sylvester Williams Of 1900, and W.E.B. DuBois who spearheaded the subsequent Pan African Congresses from 1919, 1921, 1923, and 1927 then in 1945 served as

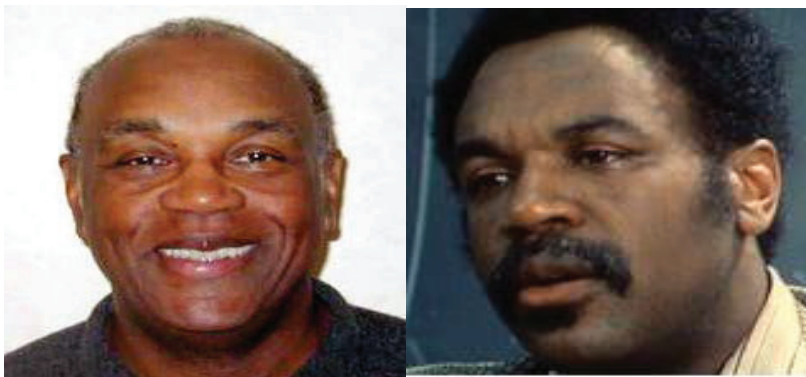
the international president of the Fifth (Sixth) Pan African Congress held in Manchester in 1945 which was organized by George Padmore and C.L.R. James.

Featuring on the agenda of the Congress were the following salient issues, namely:

- The addressing of the goals of African Unity,
- African Independence
- Support of the liberation of Southern African People
- The establishment of a Permanent Secretariat of the Seventh (6th) Pan

African Congress to focus on six areas of concern for Africa and her people, namely:

- Agriculture,
- Health and Nutrition,
- Research in Science and Technology,
- Communications,
- Political Cooperation and
- Support for Liberation Movements in Africa.



Photos 196 (a) & (b) Courtland Cox: One of the Main Think-Tank and Organiser and Secretary General of the Seventh (6th) Pan African Congress, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Prior to the Seventh Pan African Congress, Tasks Forces were designed to establish an African Science and Technology Centre and an African Information Centre. Appeals were also made by Courtland Cox, the Secretary-General of “The Sixth Pan African Congress” based in Washington, to well-wishers and Pan African advocates for contributions and support in the following terms:

“If you are a person who have commitment to the liberation of Africa and African People; if you are a person with capabilities and resources which should be put to use for our people instead of against them; if you are one who sees the clear need for a rekindling of political understanding and cooperation among African people; if you realise the urgency for “recreating a climate of hostility to imperialism in Africa,” then the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS urgently needs and desires your interest and participation.”

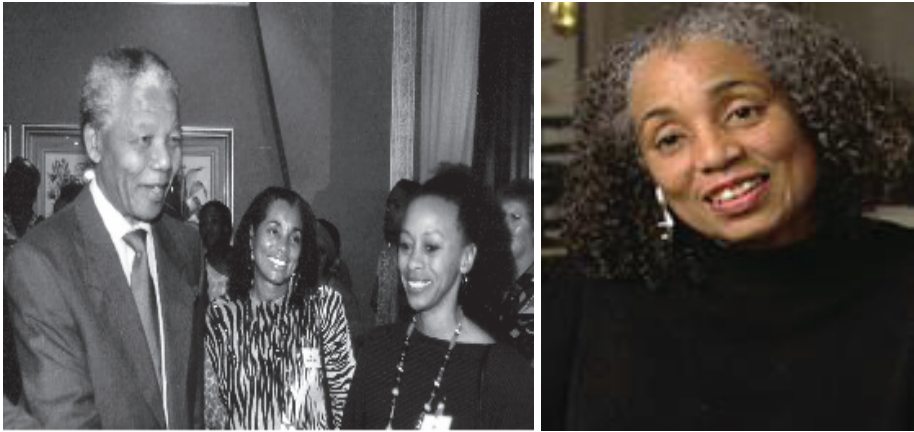


Photo 197 (a) & (b): Sylvia Hill, centre, and Gay McDougall were among African American activists invited by Nelson Mandela to visit South Africa in October 1991 on what was called a “Democracy Now” tour. Photo courtesy of Sylvia Hill. Sylva Hill was also the Organiser of the Seventh (6th) Pan African Congress of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Before the Congress the organizers had published their agenda and what seemed like a Manifesto blueprint of their programme and objectives which explained the motivating forces behind the Congress and Pan Africanism in general. It reads thus:

“Despite the strides that Black men have made in the last quarter century, both in the original home, on the continent of Africa, and in the various other parts of the world where black communities and various nations exist, much remains to be done. Not only are the forces which we are ‘against’ – racism, colonialism, imperialism – still in power, but that which we are ‘for’; the total liberation of African people, still lies before us. We believe the time is right for the building of a serious, independent infrastructure for cooperation and understanding in the African world. This infrastructure will give new force and impetus to the struggles of black people for ‘self-reliance’ and ‘self-determination’. The SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS recognizes that various forums, institutions, and groups exist in different places in the African world

which have similar objectives. But the totality of the black race, and the many dimensions to our problems and needs, requires a forum which can take into consideration the fact that we are a people 600 million (today, 1.7 Billion) strong, living not just in African states but also in the West; that there are programs and institutions which are vital but which cannot best be implemented by governments, and many others, have led to the call for the SIXTH PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS."

It is very interesting that for the first time on the African soil, a very high intellectual debate on Pan Africanism and African Identity was held at Dar es Salaam.

It is also very interesting that at the time it happened the sponsor was Mwalimu Julius Nyerere who was among the founding fathers of the Organisation of African Unity.

It is also very interesting that it took thirty years for another Pan African Congress to hold since the 1945 more assertive and revolutionary Pan Africanism of Manchester of 1945.

But what was very interesting was the fact that the link between the Africans and the Africans on the Continent was growing stronger and stronger, as new Diaspora faces were showing in, especially among the women.

But what is flagrantly evident is that the African Intelligentsia on the continent had not made much effort to move Pan Africanism from the pedestal of Intellectualism to bring it closer to the masses. One would have thought that the UJAMAA ideology and sensitization of Africans in the well-founded values of Communitarianism would have been branded and sold at the popular market places of Africa, especially in the liberation camps of the liberation movements.

This was also the opportune time to vulgarise and bring Pan Africanism in the Primary and Secondary Schools of Africa, to sensitise the youths about those who have marked and beaten the path of the history of their independence, whose productive values they were very ignorant of.

More emphasis was still put on the physical liberation movements and less was done to imbue the minds of the youths both in the schools and the liberation camps of the need for an African solidarity first from the brain-driven think tanks than just from the barrels of guns.

This lateness of sensitizing the African youths in all spheres of life is what Africa is paying for today, as Professor Campbell testified that he asked a young student on the University campus of Dar es Salaam who did not know

who Samora Marchel was. He would have been surprised if he had gone round Africa with that question in the High Schools and Universities.

It would seem one of the failures of the Seventh Pan African Congress was this lack of inclusion of the need to sensitise the youths and the masses of Africa on Pan Africanism and its necessity as the basis for African Identity-Building. Walter Rodney raised this problem in his paper which dealt with the problems of neo-balkanization of Africa fostered by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

This Conference which could also be called the presentation of the radical social manifesto for Africa was dominated by Walter Rodney's paper which applied the Marxist intellectual diagnosis to analyse the ills and hurdles Pan Africanism was facing.

It was hosted by none other than Mwalimu Julius Nyerere because Tanzania and this Pan African Nationalist had demonstrated that he was the only living Pan Africanist at that time working towards the improvement of the condition of his people and the masses in a manner no other leader in Africa had done before if you can compare him with Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana who was not given the chance to prove his nationalist ambitions and programme, or Sékou Touré, who tried his hand with a kind of indigenization of Guinea. Walter Rodney tells us how this idea of convening the Seventh Pan African Congress took a long re-election and preparation so as to strike the right chords and not to step on toes or brush the mane in the wrong direction:

"When a few individuals began to contemplate this Congress some years ago, it was felt that it should be a coming together of black political movements, as distinct from governments. One school of thought envisaged that it would be a select conference of the most progressive elements in the black world. To a large extent, this was the significance of the All African People's Conference held in Accra in 1958. However, plans for a similar meeting in the 1970s would be hopelessly idealist. The African radicals of 1958 are by and large the incumbents in office today. The radicals of today lead at best an uncomfortable existence within African states, while some languish in prison or in exile. The present petty bourgeois regimes would look with disfavour at any organized programme which purported to be Pan-African without their sanction and participation. None of the progressive African regimes, which are already isolated and exposed to internal and external reaction, would dare to host a Congress which brought together only those who aggressively urge a unity of the African working masses and the building of a Socialist society. Such a Congress would have to be held in a metropolitan centre, and would thus condemn itself to serve primarily as a forum for alienated intellectuals. In the light of the above considerations, any African committed to freedom, Socialism

and development would need to look long and hard at the political implications of participation in the Sixth Pan-African Congress. The purists might be tempted to eschew any association whatsoever; but revolutionary praxis demands that one should contend against class enemies in theory and in practice, by seizing every opportunity to utilize all of the contradictions within imperialism as a global system - in this instance, contradictions born of economic exploitation and racist oppression."

One of the criticisms of the Seventh Pan African Congress was its lack of focus on the African Identity problem and the African-Language problem where, instead of establishing a framework to promote African languages, Africa was obliged to adopt another colonizing language in Africa – Arabic which is fighting hard to annihilate African languages and cultures and religions.

It is very strange that the Ethiopian language was not adopted as a lingua franca for Africa. This would have made more appropriate in that Ethiopian language is the oldest language in the world and Africa which is written with an original African alphabet.

This is what Naiwu Osahon (2000-2009) is criticizing when he laments the fact that:

"The OAU as a geographical compromise helped to diffuse the issue and blind Black Africa to the plight of their kith and kin racially marginalised and suffering severely in Northern Africa. With their membership of the OAU, the Arabs were allowed to attend the 6th Pan African Congress in Tanzania in 1974, which they promptly disrupted by insisting that Africans do not need a global institution or league. To press their advantage home, they forced the congress to adopt Arabic as an official language."

Naiwu Osahon's argument is that the Seventh Pan African Congress of Dar es Salaam was a failure because it failed to treat openly the Arab problem in Africa while concentrating just on the liberation of Southern Africa. Thus he admits that the failure of Pan Africanism is because African leaders, when it comes to discussing the Arab racism and intolerant religious problem in Africa, most African leaders avoid it completely as if it is not a problem, whereas at the bottom line it is not different from and even worse than the racism and Apartheid problem of South Africa. And what is more the Arab Nations of North Africa, including Mauritania which is still practicing Slavery, are just paying lip service to the African Union just as they did to the OAU. He believes that they do not want Black Africans to come together and form a

stronger front, so that they should continue to manipulate Africa and Black Africans. Naiwu Osahon provides these arguments, quoting Professor Clarke to make his point, which I find pertinent and interesting for more debate and research:

"We were convinced before we embarked on our Pan African journey that not a little bit of our recent past may have been tinted against our best interests. That the reason we have remained marginalized for so long is because our supposed leaders have not always stood firm to represent and defend our interests against all comers be they Jews, Arabs, Asians or Caucasians who in fact, continue to tell us that we do not need to institutionalise our movement while they keep their racial leagues. Butros Butros Gali, as the UN scribe and a member of our Co-ordinating Committee for instance, was vehemently opposed to our institutionalising the Pan African Movement while he saw nothing wrong with the Arab league. So it is obvious that Arabs are not Pan Africanists. Quoting Prof. Clarke again: "Arabs always act as though they are not in Africa. Once when I was visiting Egypt, I told my Egyptian Arab host to get a cab ready for the next morning that I was going to Kenya. So you are going to Africa to visit your people? We got no diseases here, why are you leaving us, the host asked?"... "The Arab in Africa will always be an Arab. They never were Africans and never would be. The Arab commitment has never been to Africa and will never be. This is the first self liberating truism every Pan Africanist must learn before they can seriously liberate Africa from all comers Africa is sandwiched between the Arabs in the North and the Whites in the South. Africa must fight her way through and win. All of Africa must come under African control. There are no two ways about this. No second guessing and no apologies. We must take control from Cape to Cairo."... This has been the principal philosophy behind the new spirit of Pan Africanism which we have been promoting in the Black world in the last eleven years (i.e. from 1982 to 1993) as we prepared to convene the 7th Pan African Congress in Africa in 1995."

Another conflict which arose in the Seventh Pan African Congress was the disagreement that broke out between the Caribbean and the Americans. This to my guess could have arisen from the position on neo-colonialism and the strategies proposed for handling the liberation of Africa in independent Africa. It must be remembered that there had always been this subtle rivalry between the Pan Africanists of the United States of America and those of the Caribbean. Since the time of the rivalry between WEB Dubois and Henry Sylvester Williams and Marcus Garvey, the USA Pan Africanists, had always thought they were supposed to always take the lead in making the policies of Pan Africanism. After the various independence and neo-colonisations, the

Caribbean Pan Africanists were more critical of Pan African policies and politics than the USA Pan Africanists who had since the Civil Rights movement of Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, including those who followed with the Black Panther and Angela Davis; and the granting of the Civil Rights to the Black People of the United States of America by John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, the Pan Africanism of the USA, since Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X and WEB Dubois had become more integrative more accommodating to the predominantly white corporate society of the United States of America. They were no longer biting and critical like the Caribbean who were going through the system of neo-colonisation and the governance of what they called the “Petty Bourgeoisie” and the “Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie”.

13.1.1. The Underdevelopment of Africa by Africans of the Petty Bourgeoisie According To Walter Rodney.

This hypothesis is coming from reading between the virulent lines of the presentation of Walter Rodney which was academically Marxist and strong and more realistic than would have pleased the likes of the more moderate Pan African petty bourgeoisie and bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This is what Walter Rodney had to say:

“Yet, following in the wake of the great pageant of the regaining of political independence, there has come the recognition on the part of many that the struggle of the African people has intensified rather than abated, and that it is being expressed not merely as a contradiction between African producers and European capitalists but also as a conflict between the majority of the black masses and a small African possessing class. This, admittedly, is to state the contentious; but the Sixth Pan-African Congress will surely have to walk the tightrope of this point of contention. Any ‘Pan’ concept is an exercise in self-definition by a people, aimed at establishing a broader redefinition of themselves than that which had so far been permitted by those in power. Invariably, however, the exercise is undertaken by a specific social group or class which speaks on behalf of the population as a whole. This is always the case with respect to national movements. Consequently, certain questions must be placed on the agenda: notably, the following:

- *Which class leads the national movement?*
- *How capable is this class of carrying out the historical tasks of national liberation?*
- *Which are the silent classes on whose behalf ‘national’ claims are being articulated?”*

Walter Rodney was very quick to perceive the class and the nationalist content of Pan Africanism which interlocked for the benefit of the ruling bourgeoisie clan that was already forming and making real the class stratification of Africa, which was heavily agrarian and poor. Hence he was cautioning Africa not to allow the class stratification override the nationalist content which was very fundamentally essential for Pan Africanism. In a sense, as he admits, the small elitist and educated class of Africa had highjacked the efforts of the liberation movements fighting colonisation the common enemy for their private enterprises. The “Privileged Talented Tenth” and the “Advantaged Talented Tenth” were imposing their neo-colonial policies on the rest of the “Disadvantaged Ninety” Blacks.

That can be seen in how they were and are still satisfied with the containment Pan Africanism since all the battle was almost fought and won. What Rodney was criticising what has happened even to South Africa where the Black elitist class has succeeded to create a pact with the minority white opulent class of the economic domineering Afrikaner Broederbond to dominate the rest of the Black South Africans who are still poor, uneducated and homeless.

One can understand why I have described Africa’s independence as having been achieved in a wheel-chair to be pushed, either by the colonial master or by the poor masses who have been reduced to the carriers of the post-colonial burden to continue to bear and carry or push the wheel-chair privileged class uphill till they die or they can no more.

That is why Walter Rodney accuses African leaders to have paid only lip service to Pan Africanism and to Nationalism which figured in their agenda for liberation from the colonial master whom they have replaced but continued to colonise and underdeveloped Africa. After Rodney was very adamant in criticising how Africans, once colonised and dominated, had become the very colonisers and those who were contributing to underdeveloped Africa. I would like to quote him elaborately because his analysis is quite pertinent in this study:

“Pan-Africanism in the post-independence era is internationalist in so far as it seeks the unity of peoples living in a large number of juridically independent states. But it is simultaneously a brand of nationalism; and one must therefore penetrate its nationalist form to appreciate its class content. This exercise is made easier by the fact the nationalist movements in Africa which led to the regaining of independence in more than three dozen states constitute a phenomenon which has already received considerable attention. These movements were essentially political fronts or class alliance in which the

grievances of all social groups were expressed as 'national' grievances against the colonizers. However, while the workers and peasants formed the over-whelming numerical majority, the leadership was almost exclusively petty bourgeois. Understandably, this leadership placed to the fore those 'national' aims which contributed most directly to the promotion of their own class interests; but they voiced sentiments which were historically progressive, partly because of their own confrontation with the colonialists and partly because of pressure from the masses. Pan-Africanism was one of these progressive sentiments, which served as a platform for that sector of the African or black petty bourgeois leadership which was most uncompromising in its struggle against colonialism at any given time during the colonial period. Virtually all leaders of African independence movements paid at least lip service to the idea that regional freedom was only a step towards the freedom and unity of the whole continent; and the most advanced nationalists were usually the most explicit on the issue of Pan-African solidarity. Nkrumah and Kenyatta were both at Manchester; while Nyerere, Kaunda and Mboya were the driving forces behind the Pan-African Movement for East and Central Africa (PAMECA). Within the Francophone sphere, several leaders took Pan-Africanist positions in one form or another. The radical Union des Populations de Cameroun refused to accept colonial boundaries in Africa; Senghor espoused a culturally oriented doctrine of black internationalism, comparable to Pan-Africanism; and even Houphouët-Boigny was initially associated with a political party which was Pan-Africanist in thrust: namely, the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, which addressed itself to the whole of French West Africa. Pan-African solidarity also manifested itself with regard to the war of independence in Algeria, an episode of which united not merely North Africa but also helped force alliances between progressive nationalists on both sides of the Sahara. Similarly, the rise of national liberation movements dedicated to achieving freedom by any means necessary served to underscore the reality of Pan-Africanism. All African leaders had to concede that freedom in Southern Africa was vital to guarantee the freedom of any given part of Africa, and the test of practice showed that commitment was greatest in the case of the most forward-looking of the petty bourgeois regimes - Ghana (under Nkrumah), Egypt (under Nasser), Tanzania, Zambia and Guinea. It would be unhistorical to deny the progressive character of the African petty bourgeoisie at a particular moment in time. Owing to the low level of development of the productive forces in colonized Africa, it fell to the lot of the small privileged educated group to give expression to a mass of grievances against racial discrimination, low wages, low prices for cash crops, colonial bureaucratic commandism, and the indignity of alien rule as such. But the petty bourgeoisie were reformers and not revolutionaries. Their class limitations were stamped upon the character of the independence which they negotiated with the colonial masters. In the very

process of demanding constitutional independence, they reneged on the cardinal principle of Pan-Africanism: namely, the unity and indivisibility of the African continent.”

Walter Rodney goes on to show how Pan Africanism has failed because there were no true nationalists and nation-builders with interest of foresight from the beginning of independence. Africa’s leadership was taken over by satraps of the colonial programme of Western bourgeoisie of the slave-driven capitalism. He says all of them lacked the vision of Nkrumah. Sékou Touré of Nyerere and that is why they were very happy with the balkanised or pigeon-hole Nation-States created in Africa. They pitifully lacked the vision of a continental and diasporan unity as I have mentioned above. Walter Rodney brings out this lack which has become a handicap for Africa as a continent:

“The first Pan-Africanists to engage in the political mobilization of the African masses on African soil had a continental outlook. The African National Congress which was formed in the Union of South Africa in 1912, aimed at being ‘African’ and not merely ‘South African’ and it was renamed in 1923 to emphasize this fact. Significantly, organizations of the same name extended into what are now Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania. It is also significant that dynamic African spokesmen of the 1930s like Nnamdi Azikiwe and Wallace Johnson were African rather than Nigerian or Sierra Leonean. But the lawyers and place-seekers who eventually took the independence movement in hand were incapable of transcending the territorial boundaries of the colonial administrations. Imperialism defined the context in which constitutional power was to be handed over, so as to guard against the transfer of economic power or genuine political power. The African petty bourgeoisie accepted this, with only a small amount of dissent and disquiet being manifested by the progressive elements such as Nkrumah, Nyerere and Sékou Touré. Areas of West and Central Africa which experienced French colonial rule witnessed the shameless dismantling of those colonial politics which had a large territorial base. Whereas the French had maintained unity for exploitation, the African petty bourgeoisie lacked the capacity to demand both unity and freedom. So they accepted the Balkanization which led to fragments called Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad, and Central African Republic and so on. Since independence, little or no progress has been registered with respect to reversing this Balkanization.”

Another problem plaguing Pan Africanism is the complaint laid by Walter Rodney about the African Bourgeoisie which, unlike the Indian or the Latin American which is comprador or the petty bourgeoisie, is more or less based on what I call a bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which lacks vision and the sense of

nation-building, talk less of African Unity building. The African bureaucratic bourgeoisie therefore cannot afford to administer a large territory which would not be conducive for its petty bourgeoisie interest. Therefore he must settle for the pigeon-hole state and even participate to foment rivalries and conflict within the mini-Nation-State to satisfy his penchant for maintaining his petty bourgeoisie interest at all cost. And that is where the colonial master is happy to supply arms as France, America and Great Britain and Israel are doing in arming the bureaucratic bourgeoisie to safeguard their mutual vested interests in the post-colony. He explains in very succinct terms and descriptions:

"It is a striking historical fact that the bourgeoisie proper have been the spearheads of national unity in which capitalism was first engendered. They sought political unity to guarantee the integration of production and distribution, giving rise to what were then relatively large nation states in Britain, France and Germany as compared to the numerous feudal fiefs which previously existed. The North American continent provides the most formidable example of the identification of bourgeois interests with federal unity and with the building of an infrastructure which rolled across a whole continent without regard to the cost in blood especially since the blood spilt was principally African and Native American (Indian). The petty bourgeoisie of Asia, Africa and Latin America are a different breed. They cannot be described as 'entrepreneurs', 'pioneers', 'captains of industry', 'robber barons' or in any of the other swashbuckling terms coined to glorify the primary accumulation of capital. Franz Fanon flays them unmercifully but truthfully when he points to the shoddy, imitative, lack-lustre character of the African petty bourgeoisie. Their role in the international capitalist system has always been that of compradors. Their capital outlay might often be greater than that of a factory owner during the industrial revolution in England during the early nineteenth century, but in the present era of monopoly capitalism it suffices mainly for chicken-farms. In any event, most of the African petty bourgeoisie is not directly involved in economic enterprises - their real sphere being the professions, the administration and the military/police hierarchy. They lack both the vision and the objective base to essay the leap towards continental unity. A close scrutiny further reveals that the failure of the African ruling class to effect meaningful unity is not merely due to weakness. Recalling once more the dismantling process which took place in Francophone Africa at the time of negotiated independence, it can be seen that the pusillanimity of the African petty bourgeoisie in the face of the deliberate creation of non-viable dependent mini-states by France attests not merely to the strength of the colonizers but also to fear on the part of the presumptive African rulers that larger territorial units might have negated their narrow class welfare. Throughout the continent, none of the successful independence movements denied the basic validity of the boundaries created a few decades ago by imperialism. To have done so

would have been to issue a challenge so profound as to rule out the preservation of the petty bourgeois interests in a compromise 'independence' worked out in conjunction with international capital. If the weakness of the present petty bourgeois leadership of Africa were the only problem, then they could be dismissed as passive bystanders, who cannot make operational the potential of Pan-Africanism as an ideology of liberation. However, they maintain themselves as a class by fomenting internal divisions and by dependence on external capitalist powers. These policies are antithetical to Pan-Africanism. The record since independence confirms that the interests of the African petty bourgeoisie are as irreconcilable with genuine Pan-Africanism as Pan-Africanism is irreconcilable with the interests of international capitalism. Most African mini-states are engaged in consolidating their territorial frontiers, in preserving the social relations prevailing inside these frontiers, and in protecting imperialism in the form of the monopolies and their respective states. The capitalist super-powers, directly and indirectly, individually and collectively, guarantee the existence of the African petty bourgeoisie as a ruling class and use them to penetrate and manipulate African society. This has been done so crudely and openly that one does not have to be especially informed or especially aware in order to perceive what has been going down. Ex-ambassadors of the U.S. have a way of reminiscing on how they cynically manoeuvred the Reds and Blacks; local representatives of American, British and French security forces are so entrenched that they dispense with all cover; and the African petty bourgeoisie itself is so gauche that it rushes openly to the defence of an international monopoly such as LONRHO, when even the metropolitan political rulers are too embarrassed to do so. All the activities of international capital aim at perpetuating the division of the continent which they initiated at the time of the Partition. The petty bourgeoisie is also showing that it seeks to maintain division of the African masses, since the anti-colonial alliance with all other classes has gained its objective of formal independence. The only alliance which the African ruling class now vigorously defends is that with imperialism against the African people. Most decidedly, this power structure does not want to allow the masses either the consciousness or the reality of unity."

Walter Rodney is very hard on those African leaders who have confiscated Africa, recolonised it and caused it to kill the dream of the liberation nationalists and the nationalist Pan Africanists. He goes on to elaborate on the different lackeys of the neo-colonial system promoted in Africa by Africans of little vision and plan like Busia of Ghana, Houphouet Boigny or Mobutu and the rest of them who created the pigeon-hole states which could not survive the neo-colonisation and exploitation of Africa by Africans following the master plan of the colonial masters:

‘Pan-Africanism has been so flouted by the present African regimes that the concept of ‘Africa’ is dead for all practical purposes such as travel and employment. The ‘Africanisation’ that was aimed against the European colonial administrator soon gave way to restrictive employment and immigration practices by Ivory Coast, Ghana (under Busia), Zaire, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and others - aimed against Dahomeans, Nigerians, Burundi nationals, Malawians, Kenyans and all Africans who were guilty of believing that Africa was for the Africans. Of course, it was said that unemployment among citizens of any given country forced the government to take extreme steps. This is a pitiable excuse, which tries to hide the fact that unemployment is the responsibility of the neo-colonial regimes, which can do nothing better than preside over dependent economies with little growth and no development.[4] In many respects, one African has been further shut off from another during the present neo-colonial phase than was the case during raw colonialism. Even within the context of the existing African nation states, the African ruling class has seldom sought to build anything other than tribal power bases, which means that they seek division and not unity at all levels of political activity, be it national, continental, or international. The dominant mode of thinking in Africa today is inherited from the colonial masters and is given currency by the state apparatus. Not surprisingly, therefore, the very concept of class is ignored or mystified. The petty bourgeoisie get very upset at being called “petty bourgeois,” and strenuously deny that there are any class differences between themselves on the one hand and the workers and peasants on the other. It is not surprising that Socialism has been enemy number one for so many African states. African leaders fight the bogey of Communist threat rather than the reality of capitalist/imperialist oppression. Even the more progressive of this ruling class harbour and protect local reactionaries while neutralizing or eliminating Marxist and other left-wing elements. In ten, twelve or fifteen years of constitutional independence, the various parts of Africa have scored no victories in ending exploitation and inequality. On the contrary, social differences have increased rapidly and the same applies to the amount of surplus extracted by foreign monopoly capital. In the spheres of production and technology, the so-called “development decade” of the sixties offers the spectacle of decreasing agricultural production, a declining share of world trade, and the proliferation of dependency structures because of the further penetration of multi-national corporations. All of these matters are highly relevant to a discussion of Pan-Africanism. The transformation of the African environment, the transformation of social and productive relations, the break with imperialism, and the forging of African political and economic unity are all dialectically interrelated. This complex of historical tasks can be carried out only under the banner of Socialism and through the leadership of the working classes. The African petty bourgeoisie as a ruling class use their state power against Socialist ideology, against the material interests of the working class, and against the political unity of the African masses. Of course, the rhetoric of the African

ruling class is something else. Only a Banda has the temerity to openly abuse the concept of African unity, and only a few others would openly espouse capitalism and imperialism as decent, and just. Otherwise, the petty bourgeoisie prefers the technique of paying lip-service to progressive ideas, seeking the defeat of these ideas through a process of trivialization and vulgarization. Both Socialism and Pan-Africanism are of the utmost importance with respect to this technique. In one sense, the unwillingness of the petty bourgeoisie to manifest overt hostility to Socialism and Pan-Africanism is a testimony to the development of mass consciousness and to the level of confrontation between progressive and reactionary forces on the world stage. But it is also very insidious in so far as pseudo-revolutionary positions tend to pre-empt genuinely revolutionary positions. For instance, the existing African regimes have helped create the illusion that the OAU represents the concretization of Pan-African unity. The OAU is the principal instrument which legitimizes the forty-odd mini-states visited upon us by colonialism."

Walter Rodney admitted that the only lifebuoy or salvific medium for Africa remained the OAU which even though it had its misgivings, had created a platform of concertation for African leaders on certain issues concerning Africa's developmental policies and programmes. This he remarked was better than what obtained in Latin America where after Independence they were kind of gerrymandered and lacked direction.

Africa's OAU provided a political talk shop which was better than nothing at all. It was an already a consultative platform for African leaders who wanted to learn from each other even though there was not much to learn since there were no visionaries or forward-looking leadership. But he also realised that with the inactivity of OAU it contributed more to frustrate African Unity than really fostering it. This was because the OAU had allowed itself to be penetrated by imperialist powers that undermined its unity. The unilateral declaration of independence by Ian Smith was a good example of the Imperialist penetration and manipulation of Africa. He explains:

"It is a tribute to the momentum of Pan-Africanism that the OAU had to be formed. The idea of Pan-African political unity had taken deep roots, and it had to be given expression if only in the form of a consultative international assembly. This indicates a higher level of continental political co-ordination than was to be found in Latin America during the period when the old colonial regimes there were being demolished. It is also true that no imperialist power is a voting member of the organization, in the way that the United States of America is entrenched within the Organization of American States. Nevertheless, the O.A.U. does far more to frustrate than to realize the concept of African Unity. The degree of its penetration by imperialist

powers has been evidenced on numerous occasions, the most striking being those which have arisen around the Unilateral Declaration of Independence by the white minority in Zimbabwe, around the issue of 'Dialogue' with the white racist South African regime, and over the persistence of the French in selling arms to the Republic of South Africa. At best, the OAU regulates a few internal conflicts between the petty bourgeoisie from different parts of the continent. Beyond this, it is committed to maintain the separation of African peoples implicit in the present territorial boundaries, so as to buttress the exploitative social systems which prevail on the continent in this neo-colonial epoch. When Lumumba was waging his heroic battle against imperialism in the Congo, it seemed for a brief while that there would be an alignment of progressive versus reactionary African forces. The masses of Africa were only too anxious to join their Congolese brothers in the fight against white and black mercenaries. Indeed, the lines were drawn so clearly that international revolutionary solidarity was forthcoming from many parts of the world. However, the continent suffered a setback in the Congo. Affairs in the Congo were 'normalized' to the point of changing the country's name to Zaire. Meanwhile, one of the most important principles accepted by African governments in the wake of the defeat of the Congolese was that no popular dissident movement in an independent African country can be supported by any group or government in another independent African country. In constitutional terms, this is expressed in the fine-sounding phrase "non-interference in the internal affairs of a member state". In practical terms, this is how the most reactionary elements of the petty bourgeoisie tie the hands of the masses of Africa."

Walter Rodney reiterated the fact that for African Unity and Pan Africanism to develop, all Africans must take charge of each other no matter from where African comes from. This meant the clause of the non-interference in the internal affairs of member states was not only obsolete but also unrealistic for African Unity and development. This is what he had to say in that regard:

"One of the cardinal principles of Pan-Africanism is that the people of one part of Africa are responsible for the freedom of their brothers in other parts of African; and, indeed, black people everywhere were to accept the same responsibility. The OAU denies this, apart from areas still under formal colonial rule. By so doing, they are implying that the objective conditions which impelled the Africans masses to fight the colonialists have since been transformed, which is a blatant falsehood. Any exploitative, oppressive and autocratic African state is cordoned off against fellow African intervention or criticism, even when the most elementary civil and human rights are trampled upon. Meanwhile, the more progressive states are not really protected against intrigues and

various forms of aggression arranged by imperialism through the agency of the adjacent neo-colonial African states; and, in any event, Socialism cannot be built in any one African country, so that the few initiatives towards Socialist transformation on the continent are bound to be stifled by the continued division of Africa into artificial states."

Walter Rodney goes further to show how the petty bourgeoisie does not like a broader vision and demonstrates why the African post-colonial bureaucratic bourgeoisie leadership has been frustrating African nationalism and African Unity and instead contributing to the underdevelopment of Africa. He goes on to show how the Sixth Pan-African Congress of Manchester lost its steam when it tried to foster a false antithesis of Pan Africanism and Communism. And if Toussaint L'Ouverture was the Poto-Marx of Pan Africanism, how then could the statement of George Padmore be right?

I think what Walter Rodney was trying to say was that even though Marxism in the Soviet Union was practised with some racism to black people, this does not cancel the fact that the analysis of dialectic materialism by Marx or Communists is wrong or antinomial to the foundations of Pan Africanism. Pan Africanism was based both on its Humanist and Universalist approach to the resolution of Human problems and issues. Listen to Walter Rodney's arguments:

"The question posed at the outset of this analysis in relation to the class content of nationalism suggested that one identifies the leading class, assesses its revolutionary capacity and evaluates the manner in which the subordinate classes are handled. Our conclusions at this point are that the African petty bourgeois leadership since independence has been an obstacle to the further development of the African revolution. A final illustration to this effect is the way in which the very vanguard of the Pan-Africanist movement (as it emerged from the Fifth Congress) lost its direction and wallowed in bourgeois theory and practice. Like other African leaders, they too propagated the false antithesis between Pan-Africanism and Communism - an intellectual activity spearheaded by no less a person than George Padmore. Understandably, his practical politics suffered a corresponding decline; and in spite of once having stood in the ranks of the international working class movement, Padmore found himself intervening in Guyana in the mid-1950s on the side of that section of the local leadership which was supported by the British and American governments, by local and foreign capitalists and by the CIA-infiltrated trade union, the AFL-CIO. At the same time, Nkrumah was engaging in ideological mystification under new facades such

as ‘consciencism’, while doing little to break the control of the international bourgeoisie or the Ghanaian petty bourgeoisie over the state. He had already eliminated the genuine working class leadership from the CPP during the first years of power, and it was only after his overthrow by a reactionary petty bourgeois coup d’état that Nkrumah became convinced that there was a class struggle in Africa and that the national and Pan-African movements required leadership loyal to its mass base of workers and peasants.”

The class stratification is what is Rodney is preoccupied with in Africa since it hampers Africa developing a more egalitarian or equitable society where nation-building and people-building is foremost in the agenda of the state managers. Then he realises that the leaders of Africa have been converted to a bunch of petty bourgeois that are fighting just for their myopic survival and the survival of their petty bourgeois families are nothing but imperialistic satellites in Africa. So he calls Pan Africanism a toothless slogan for these leaders who use it more as a mouth wash slogan than really a mental revival ingredient for change. He is very upset that all the Caribbean leaders with their pigeon-hole sovereignties fostering these Lilliputian Caribbean States which has transformed themselves to Banana and Sugar-Cane Rum States with no clout and never thinking how they can unite to make a bigger impact in the world and with Africa.

I understand Rodney’s preoccupation to be that of seeing how the Caribbean Lilliputian State leaders, instead of promoting the balkanisation, the polarisation and reprimanding of their citizens in their fictitious small and good for nothing sovereignties, would have been struggling to see how to coordinate the amalgamation of their people into the wider world of Africa; and stop gloating over their inherited Slave-Plantation-States of no significance but the dependence and the eternal return to the Master for handouts, because their economies are still tied to the exploitative slave-driven capitalist economy which cannot survive without the slave internalising and reproducing its own slavery and servitude, and its own self-determined-exploitation.

Walter Rodney saw as an aberration the fact that the Caribbean States were supporting armed revolution in Southern Africa, while at the same time fighting “Unarmed” liberation fighters in their sovereignties. Wherefore he argues that the Seventh Pan African Congress of Dar es Salaam will be attended by the very leaders who are counter-productive and actually are stumbling blocks to the take-off of Pan Africanism. Rodney’s preoccupation was therefore to see how to limit the damage done so far by this imperialistic bond and tether that keeps Africa and African post-colonial State on the leash

of the exploitative Colonial-Slaving Master. This is how I read Rodney when he argues that:

“Obfuscation of the notion of class in post-independence Africa has made Pan-Africanism a toothless slogan as far as imperialism is concerned, and it has actually been adopted by African chauvinists and reactionaries, marking a distinct departure from the earlier years of this century when the proponents of Pan-Africanism stood on the left flank of their respective national movements on both sides of the Atlantic. The recapture of the revolutionary initiative should clearly be one of the foremost tasks of the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Although New World black representation predominated at all Pan-African Congresses and Conferences in the past, the agendas were usually devoted almost exclusively to the affairs of the African continent. It can be assumed that the Sixth Pan-African Congress will not be substantially different, but the creation of independent Caribbean nation states does introduce a new dimension with regard to the participation of this part of the black world. Having sketched the main outlines of the petty bourgeois position in Africa, it is unnecessary to elaborate on the Caribbean scene, because of the numerous and basic similarities. It is to be noted, however, that that which appears as a tragedy against the vast backcloth of Africa re-appears as comedy in the Caribbean. Early this year, the people of the then colony of Grenada took to the streets to express in uncompromising terms their opposition to the exploitative and oppressive system of Anglo-American colonialism, which is manned locally by a certain petty bourgeois clique. At the same time, the British government carried on regardless in its plans to grant independence to the said petty bourgeois clique, expressing reservations only on the point of whether or not it was safe to send a member of the Royal Family to preside over the independence ceremony. As it was, militant striking workers deprived the independence celebrations of telephone services, port services and electricity, but the petty bourgeoisie regime managed to add some fireworks to mark the auspicious occasion. What term other than ‘comedy’ can describe such a situation? The ruling class in each given British Caribbean territory usually takes pains to create a ‘national’ identity, which amounts to little more than glorifying the fact that some Africans were sent to slave plantations in Jamaica or Trinidad rather than Barbados or Antigua, as the case may be. On the basis of this ‘nationalism’, the petty bourgeoisie can continue the former British colonial policy of preventing trade unionists and progressives from moving freely amongst the people of the Caribbean. Another antic which is common on the part of the West Indian regimes is that they operate against (unarmed) national liberation movements inside the Caribbean while fully proclaiming support of African liberation movements in Southern Africa. This latter posture, along with other pro-African rhetoric, was forced on several West Indian leaders because of popular sympathy for the African cause at the mass level. The posturing and rhetoric are extremely useful on

jaunts to Africa in their quest for class alliances with the African petty bourgeoisie itself. Yet, the realities of state power have predetermined that when the Sixth Pan-African Congress meets in Dar-es-Salaam in June 1974 it will be attended mainly by spokesmen of African and Caribbean states which in so many ways represent the negation of Pan-Africanism. One immediate consequence of the rise of constitutionally independent African and West Indian states is that for the first time such a gathering will be held on African soil and will be sponsored, directed and attended mainly by black governments rather than by black intellectuals as such or by small black protest organizations, as was the case up to the Fifth Congress in Manchester. Already it is clear that states will be represented as states and that the OAU will play some role. Without falling into the trap of imagining that the present states of Africa and the Caribbean will liberate the African masses from the tyranny of man and nature, it still remains an open political question as to how far they can be pressured to take steps which lessen the immediate impact of imperialist exploitation and which perhaps grant respite to the producers and progressive forces.”

According to Rodney, the liberation movements in the Southern African States were fertile grounds for the strangulation of the imperialist master. And he realised that even the most reactionary states of Africa were helping these states in their liberation mission because they could not do otherwise but to join the band wagon for change that might come very slowly but efficiently and finally.

Wherefore Rodney thought the best way to plan was to fight the petty bourgeois in his own camp by using the forum provided by the Third World States and the Non-Aligned States to create alternative markets that can strive to outdo the petty bourgeois tendency and syndrome in Africa and the Caribbean.

Even though he approved the stand of the OAU state against Israel's imperialism and penetration of Africa, still he thinks that better more robust measures must be put in place to fight petty bourgeoisie gaining ground in Africa. This is his pre-occupation when he elaborates his theory explaining:

“Southern Africa provides excellent illustrations to this effect. Our brothers in the South are striking blows which include attacks on enemy bases in Angola, the destruction of rail links in Mozambique, the disruption of production through strikes in Namibia and South Africa, and the intensification of politico-military offensives in Zimbabwe. The leadership even in the most reactionary African states have found it difficult to avoid responding in some positive manner to these activities; just as liberal organizations and governments of the capitalist world are now finding it prudent to join

Socialists and radicals in giving international support to African liberation movements. It would be naïve to abstain from participation in forums where the above processes are taking place, because a committed presence is essential both to accelerate as well as to control contributions which could otherwise cease to be merely opportunist and become actively counter-revolutionary. Turning to the economic policy of African regimes, one also perceives that the dilemma of increasing underdevelopment places the petty bourgeoisie on the defensive. Whether within the OAU or in a wider Non-Aligned context, they can be propelled to consider new marketing arrangements, new forms of African and Third World cooperation and some devices to moderately restrain foreign exploitation. The agreement between oil producers has been the most striking in recent times. African governments have been understandably ambivalent in their attitude towards the manoeuvres of North African oil states and other producers in the Middle East, but the fact that so many members of the OAU broke diplomatic relations with Israel was no insignificant achievement in the face of Zionist imperialist propaganda and penetration in Africa. Clearly, the system of neo-colonialism is not closed to elementary progressive steps by the present leadership. Strictly speaking, such steps derive from the perceived class interests of the petty bourgeoisie. For this reason, it is crucial that within a Pan-African forum a principled and analytical position should be advanced for the adoption of increasingly revolutionary strategies for African economic and political liberation. The petty bourgeoisie must either be pushed forward or further exposed. As stated at the outset, popular struggle is carried on in many ways and at many different levels. The struggle to participate is the opening round of the series of inter-connected battles likely to emerge out of the proposed Sixth Pan-African Congress.”

This explains why Rodney was very keen on the issue of the queries raised with the Temporary Secretariat of the Congress as to whether to exclude Caribbean anti-government organisations because of the fact that some of the Caribbean States were co-sponsors to the Congress. And he was satisfied that the Secretary of the temporary Secretariat reassured the attendance of all delegations including the anti-government organisations of the Caribbean. This was one of the success stories of the Seventh Pan African Congress in Dar es Salaam:

“Queries have been raised with the Temporary Secretariat of the Congress concerning fears that anti-government organizations in the Caribbean would be excluded from participation, owing to the involvement of at least two (English-speaking) Caribbean governments in financing and in offering venues for preparatory meetings. In an open letter to the Secretary of the Temporary Secretariat, Owes Sandakan drew attention to the following points:

1) *The involvement of Heads of State, who use their relationship to the Sixth Pan-African Congress as a sign of being progressive while in fact they pursue domestic and foreign policies which maintain the neo-colonial status quo within their own countries.*

2) *The possibility that because of financial problems and other problems the only people representing Caribbean countries will be official government delegations and not those people who represent community, workers and other progressive groups in those areas."*

One understands therefore the import and impact the communiqué of the Secretary Courtland Cox to all participants of the Congress when he declared that all shades of ideologies were invited without exception. Walter Rodney however envisaged some confrontation on the Caribbean delegations, which actually did happen. This is the recommendation of the Organising Secretary of the Conference:

"It is useful to quote at some length from the reply by the Secretary, Courtland Cox. He notes that, "the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which is host for the Sixth Pan-African Congress, strongly recommended that all African and Caribbean heads of state, without exception, be invited to the Congress This formal procedure should not be construed as a blanket endorsement by the Congress of domestic and foreign policies of all heads of state, nor should it be taken that the Congress will be dominated by the policies of any one, or groups of these heads of state The truth is that those who advocate the most militant steps for African liberation ... frequently don't even have money to get together to talk President Nyerere used the occasion of an interview with the Congress earlier this year to ask how can the colonialy-created existing black states be used by our people to gain liberation? These states are there. Their policies, institutions and services have some considerable impact on the lives of millions of Africans Our criteria for delegations to the Sixth Pan-African Congress may be stated generally as: (1) Africans with demonstrated commitment to progressive political principles, (2) Africans with capabilities (or access to these) necessary to meet our people's basic needs, especially those with technical skills, and (3) Africans with mass political bases; as embodied in political organizations and institutions with recognized community constituencies No delegates, whether from the Caribbean or anywhere else, will be prevented from participating in the Congress due to lack of funds. This is one of the special charges of the International Secretariat and the International Steering Committee". In spite of the above re-assurances, it will undoubtedly require vigilance, mobilization and perhaps confrontation within the Caribbean on the part of Left movements to confirm their right to attend - albeit alongside of representatives of governments and pro-government organizations."

Walter Rodney was also pre-occupied about the linguistic divide that was playing to the disfavour of the English-speaking and French-speaking Caribbeans just as it was the case with the Latino-French and English-speaking Africans. He thought that linguistic divide should not be encouraged by Africans in general, even though Africans had been assimilated in very different degrees to the colonial cultures which they paraded unconsciously to a point where they were considered as promoting the same chauvinism as the colonial masters. It was a disaster that by so mimicking the Slave Master post-colonial Africans have become the promoters of African-Neo-Colonisation of Africa as Frantz Fanon explains. Rodney raises this problem which he thought Africans should find a better way of addressing them, when he says:

“The apparent restriction of delegations to the English-speaking Caribbean is another negative feature. The seemingly superficial difference of language has always sharply divided the international black movement into an Anglophone sector and a Latin culture zone. French-speaking (and Spanish-speaking) blacks joined their brothers in French-ruled Africa in elaborating the initially anti-colonialist and anti-racist doctrine of Negritude. But, like Pan-Africanism, Negritude in the hands of petty bourgeois black states became a sterile formulation of black chauvinism, incapable of challenging capitalism and imperialism. Negritude in Senegal buttresses neo-colonialism, while in Haiti it is used to gloss over an even more desperate situation of exploitation and suppression of the black masses. It is important to break through the language barrier and it is crucial to recognize the existence of opposed tendencies within the international black world. The Congress organizers must be asked to take steps to reach the known nationalist and Socialist opponents of French colonial rule in places like Martinique and French Guiana; and they cannot be allowed to side-step the existence of a large black population in Cuba who have already accumulated rich experience in the liquidation of racism through Socialist transformation. But of course these are not tasks to be left solely to the Secretariat and the host country of Tanzania. Any Pan-Africanists committed to Socialist revolution will first strive to ensure that the Congress and the future of Pan-Africanism are not left to the tender mercies of the black petty bourgeoisie.”

Rodney tries to answer the queries that were launched in the Kenyan “Sunday Nation” of March 17 1974 about the relevance of the Seventh Pan African Congress of Dar es Salaam, since it argued that many people thought that the objectives of the 1945 Manchester Pan African Conference had been achieved already.

The Sunday Nation which even suggested that such a Congress should have been held by the AOU went on to accuse it of being very leftist inclined, adding that the choice of Dar es Salaam was no accident.

But the Sunday Nation forgot to tell Africans that Pan Africanism was a movement founded by the Civil Society and not by a governmentally imposed body. The OAU was a Governmental body and not an Organisation by Civil Societies.

Walter Rodney realised this was not the time to start quarrelling as to who to invite and who not to invite to the conference seeing that there was already a kind of balance in class forces in Africa at the time the Congress was convened, since Africa and the other pigeon-hole States could also count their neo-colonial Warlords in power just as its prisons were already cracking with their litany of political prisoners. Therefore one could keep his sanity to see how the same Africans who were fighting the Colonial Liberation War in Southern Africa were the same ones who were also depriving their people of their liberties and freedoms.

But even though the petit Bourgeois of Africa was, along with NATO waging the war against the rebels and the liberation fighters who were giving their blood to foil the grafting of the slave-driven capitalism in Africa, time was catching up with them because the masses were becoming more and more enlightened and mature.

And this for Walter Rodney was a good sign because the equalitarian structures of society had to grow from within these injustices and disequilibrium that was agitating the State and were finally going to cement the armed struggle.

That is how the Congress was determined to foster the cause of the Liberation Movements which in turn lay the foundations for the armed struggle of the disadvantaged class of the disinherited masses of the poor.

It is very interesting today to read Walter Rodney's philosophy and vision within the backdrop of what is happening now in Post-Mandela and Post-Apartheid Africa where the youths of Malema and the miners representing the disinherited poor are rising and demanding for their rights.

Walter Rodney was very vigilant about the infiltration of the Liberation Movements by African mercenaries of the West. That explains why he insisted that the Liberation Movements should speak for themselves and that nobody should claim or arrogate to himself this position to be the mouth piece of the Liberation Movements. It is good to read Walter Rodney again when he identifies the various divergences pointing out that:

"It is still not clear which governments will or will not participate in the proposed Sixth Pan-African Congress. No release from the Temporary Secretariat has borne on this point, although information did become public via the Tanzanian press suggesting that the invitations were all-embracing and that a proposal to exclude Banda was defeated. The more conservative African governments may well view the whole idea with scepticism if not hostility. For them the OAU is quite enough for the realization of Pan-Africanism. Eloquent testimony to the doubts on the part of segments of the petty bourgeoisie was provided by an editorial comment in Kenya's Sunday Nation of March 17, 1974. It suggested that many people would query the very calling of another Pan-African Congress on the grounds that "most of the aims of the Pan-African movement were achieved after the 1945 Manchester meeting". Besides, the proposed Sixth Pan-African Congress has certain areas of focus such as health, agriculture, technological research, liberation support and political cooperation; and according to the commentary in question, it might be better to leave the governments and the OAU to organize such programmes. Even granting the need for another Congress, the Sunday Nation (representative of local and foreign capitalist interests in Kenya) finds that "the whole political tenor of the (proposed) congress is leftist, and the choice of Dar-es-Salaam as the venue for the meeting is no accident". The commentary is in no doubt that the most critical question is that of whom to invite; and it reacts strongly and specifically to the mere whisper that Cuba might be invited, asking rhetorically, "how can the government of Cuba be invited as a participating government?" One must certainly thank this right-wing African journal for corroborating an analysis made from a different perspective. The one point on which class enemies can agree is that there is a battle to be fought. Given the balance of class forces in the African continent today at the level of state power, it must be assumed that, apart from the Liberation movements, the majority of African delegates will seek to retain Pan-Africanism within its present parameters of inter-state co-operation, based on the persistence of the territorial units and of petty bourgeoisie control. However, a progressive presence of one dimension or another would at least ensure that certain issues would be open to debate. The issues most likely to evoke contention can particularly be foreseen by scrutinizing the official document referred to as "the Call," both in terms of what it says and (perhaps more indicative) what it does not say. The Call accords high priority to the question of liberation in the still colonized parts of Africa."

Rodney believed that South Africa, which was the reserve of the NATO forces for the exploitation programme and the cockpit of the slave-driven capitalist economy in Africa, was also the best place for the experimentation and follow-up of the armed struggle of the liberation movements.

He explained that the Southern African people were not just fighting to attain independence. They were fighting to create an equalitarian society worthy of its name.

He was sure that even with the luring of the Western capitalist society defections might occur; but eventually there will be an amalgamation of the collective forces of armed struggle to prevail in South Africa:

“This is as it should be, not merely because one wants the South to be ‘independent’ like the rest of Africa, but more so because the nature of the confrontation in South Africa offers the real possibility of African freedom there being qualitatively different from that which was obtained by the constitutional road. Since southern Africa is the cockpit of international monopoly capital, and since Portugal and the white minority regimes are all clearly supported by NATO and multinational corporations, the struggle for national liberation is a rather clearer learning experience than the nationalist episode of the 1950s. People are fighting and dying for more than the trappings of independence. In each theatre of operations, both the leadership and the mass are maturing, so that members of the petty bourgeois stratum which exists there as everywhere else have either failed to last the tough course or they have been transformed in the process. There will be no doubt be more instances of opportunism and defections, and there will no doubt be a much longer period of the practice of tribalist mobilization in certain quarters; but the prospects of greater ideological clarity, or increasing politicization and of a stronger attachment to equalitarian and democratic structures arise directly out of the concrete situation, being pre-conditions for the success of the armed struggle. At the very least, the Congress would be expected to record the firmest statement of support for the Liberation movements, taking as a point of departure the accord reached recently by the OAU at Accra which has been the most resolute statement by African leaders to date. Documentary support for the Liberation Movements is by no means a decisive factor in their existence or success, but when a conference has to pronounce on this matter, then those statements must be sharp enough to constitute political and diplomatic weapons for the use in the rear of those fighting on the front lines. Because the Lusaka Manifesto (1970) was a mild document which could be interpreted as having some reservations about armed struggle, it was seized upon in this sense by many reactionaries, and it was still being quoted as an official position of progressive African leaders long after they had unequivocally declared their backing for the armed struggle of the Mogadishu Declaration (1971). However, generally speaking, no delegate at any conference today has to make the case for the Liberation Movements. For one thing, they are already making the most effective case for themselves through sacrifice and achievements; and for another thing, the real danger in the support of the movement on the African continent itself is that rhetoric may take the place of practical assistance. The record to date

exposes the gap between resolution and practice on the part of OAU members as far as monetary support to the OAU Liberation Committee is concerned."

Rodney was also aware that Pan Africanism was also penetrated by the Western Powers who did not want to see it materialise and mature in its struggle against neo-colonialism.

That gave him the energy and audacity to instruct Africans to beware of the Western mercenaries deployed by the Western NATO slave-driven capitalist economic powers in Africa.

He identified Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo) and Hastings Banda of Malawi as the lackeys of the West who were out to torpedo the Organisation of African Union as well as Pan Africanism. Hastings Banda was very Europeanised, Israelized and allied with Apartheid South Africa against Africa and the ANC Liberation Movement. Thus he cautioned true nationalists and Pan Africanists to beware in these terms:

"Recently, the rhetoric has become seemingly more fiery and reveals a tendency to obfuscate issues concerning the interpretation of the struggle. Take, for instance, the demagogic appeal that African governments should send armies to the combat zone. Such a suggestion is completely out of touch with the concept of people's war and out of sympathy with the process through which a people prepare themselves for self-liberation. One African Generalissimo has just called for the scrapping of people's guerrilla activities in Southern Africa, and proposes instead to lead his own (mercenary) army to conquer the white regimes! Even the slightly more palatable call for individual volunteers casts doubts on the capacity of Africans in the South to effect their own liberation. Significantly enough, these statements do not originate with any of the Liberation Movements. None of the Liberation Movements has called for anything other than material, diplomatic and moral support. They have the fighters - that is not a problem. A serious problem does arise when offers of assistance to the struggle are used to camouflage attempts to penetrate and control on the part of imperialism and its lackeys. When "Our Man in Kinshasa" appears in the role of supervisor, umpire and builder of the Angolan people's movement, it hardly requires a great deal of political acumen to sense the pricking of one's thumbs. The Congress must be asked to adopt the position that Liberation Movements should at all times be allowed to speak for themselves. The demand should be that, both inside and outside Africa, Liberation Movements should have unshakeable credentials, instead of being excluded when their interests are being discussed or instead of having to fight anew on each occasion to determine whether they should have the status of observers or second-class participants. It is for the movements to indicate their own priorities and necessities at the Congress, and in response other

delegates would contemplate the practical support which can be mobilized. It should also be made clear that the most positive support is the advancement of popular anti-imperialist power everywhere on the continent and in the Pan-African world."

Rodney saw the need for a new political orientation that would move African leaders who were at the helm of the decision-making machine, so the liberating technological take off of Africa might be realised to get rid of drought, famine, malnutrition and poverty.

According to Rodney, Africa could change its technological outlook and approach to solving its crucial and fundamental needs only when Africa has the right leadership and right decision makers at the helm of power.

Then he went on to remark that Africa's deficiency resided in its Ideological insufficiency and inadequacy as regards Africa's needs to emancipate it from poverty.

But he also realises that Africa's petty bourgeoisie, since they are tied up to the European Common Market – ECC, and now European Union Market, they depend mostly on the "Bureaucratic Capital" which he identifies as "Financial Capital" which is tied to the colonial system and to its exploitative imperialistic institutions like the Bretton Woods World Bank and the International Monetary Fund – IMF.

Wherefore Walter Rodney advocated that to liberate Africa from the claws of this slave-driven capitalist economy and mode of production, He was the forerunner of the African Bank proposed by Gaddhafi, or the alternative BRICS – Brazilian, Russian, Indian Chinese and South African Bank to oppose World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Water Rodney advocated that Africa should reconsider its leadership structures and its financial structures as well as its ideological agenda. Hence he chided the fact that not much is done to sensitise Africans on the various world ideological systems like comparing Capitalism with Socialism to find a more sustainable system for Africa's development. He proposes:

"Vying with liberation in importance in the estimation of the authors of The Call is the question of science and technology. The Call asserts rightly that "If we do not control the means of survival and protection in the context of the twentieth century we will continue to be colonized." (Emphasis in the original). Consequently, it proposes the establishment of a Pan-African Centre of Science and Technology geared towards such priorities as the development of a viable self-supporting agricultural system in Africa. On the issue to technology, one is again faced with the fact that superficially universal agreement can be obtained. No one would deny the necessity for mobilizing maximum

resources in science and technology to fight the war against ignorance, disease and poverty. No one can remain indifferent to the chronic malnutrition or to the acute suffering brought on by widespread drought and famine. The danger is that a discussion of technology tends to become 'technocratic' in the worst sense of the word. Drought and famine, for instance, are not merely 'natural phenomena' arising out of the failure of precipitation from on high. The incapacity to prevent or deal with drought and famine and the fantastic hardship which ensues are all related to the socio-economic structures of neo-colonial Africa and to the way that our economies are located within the international imperialist system. It requires certain political decisions to change these structures and the system. Whether or not Africa will make scientific progress, whether or not the technology will be relevant and adequate, whether or not the mass of the people will benefit from scientific/technological innovations are all questions which can be resolved only within specific socio-economic contexts and questions which are therefore ultimately political and ideological. It is precisely in the politico-ideological sphere that The Call is most deficient. It confines itself to the broad distinction between colonized blacks and European colonizers. It says nothing about the existence of capitalist and Socialist systems or of struggle within the capitalist/imperialist world. It comes out against the fact that Africans allow finance capital to dominate and direct their economic and social life; but this leaves room for the national bourgeois interpretation that this domination can be remedied while still remaining within the capitalist fold. Indeed, most African governments are at the moment scrambling to become more deeply involved in the European Common Market. With regard to indigenous exploitation, the authors of The Call are prepared to "stand with those who are avowed and open enemies of the elite who wish to lead a life of privilege among our people" -- which is fine, but hardly sufficiently analytical and explicit."

Rodney goes further to warn the organisers of the Congress that it is their duty to lay down very clear principles to challenge the complacency of the petty bourgeoisie that gangs with the capitalist world to exploit the poor masses of Africa. It was therefore not enough to convene the Congress and remain to show face saying that they are neutral as far as the issues of African liberation are discussed, whether to embrace Capitalism already causing great havoc in the continent and the Diaspora, or to embrace Socialism as the salvific alternative.

He reminded them that it is illusory to think that there can be neutrality when the issue of African Unity of Nationalism is at stake. Wherefore he reminds them then to take the example from the Asiatic countries that were holding their own Congress just at the same time like the Africans. He shows them how the Asians are brave enough to bring the very crucial debate on

class stratification and the penetration of capitalism and the petty bourgeoisie who have drawn the line between the haves and have-nots.

Wherefore he admonishes the Africans to also include the revolutionary aspect of Pan Africanism regardless of the complacent Heads of States and the petty bourgeoisie, or the African leaders who, like Blaise Diagne, who picked up some quarrel with DuBois because of his complacency with regard to French colonisation of containment, have become the Slave Boys of the Colonial Master.

Walter Rodney then went on to lay down the Manifesto and Blue print for the launching of the Revolutionary Pan Africanism, which he prayed should be taken up by the Seventh Pan African Congress for promotion and diffusion in these terms:

“In defence of the bland nature of The Call, the organizers of the Congress would no doubt argue that it is not their function to pre-empt discussion, but that their role is to bring together a wide spectrum of views held by concerned Africans and black people everywhere. (In line with Cox to Saudaki as cited above.) But the tenor of this discussion so far has been to illustrate that neutrality and unity of nationalism is illusory and that in practice particular classes or strata capture nationalist movements and chart their ideological and political direction. Pan-Africanism today has to recognize such situations, if it is to be a brand of revolutionary nationalism and if it is to be a progressive internationalist force. Coincidentally, a “Conference of Asians” is scheduled to be held in Tokyo next June at about the same time as the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Their Preparatory Committee has also circulated a preliminary call which suggests that “We have been left behind and they are ahead of us”. However, in this instance, ‘we’ and ‘they’ are not simplistically Asian and European, respectively. On the contrary, the Asian Preparatory Committee explains as follows: “We’ are the people, the masses of the people. ‘They’ are those who have power and money. ‘They’ create their own network of power and money to exploit and suppress us, the people. ‘We’ the people, are left behind; ‘we’ are divided and ruled.” The inference to be drawn from the above Asian analogy is that the goal of African people’s unity is by no means inconsistent with a policy a drawing a line of steel against African enemies of the people and with seeking the closest working relations with non-African peoples, to the extent that the latter are engaged in the fight against exploitation. It should not be imagined that previous Congresses were occasions for all-black camaraderie. Oftentimes, the Left and the Right were represented, and a line had to be hammered out through struggle, as was the case when DuBois and Blaise Diagne confronted each other. For that matter, the reactionary trend was occasionally successful; notably, when the French colonialists managed to promote their own spokesman, Blaise Diagne. Whatever may emerge from

the Sixth Pan-African Congress, it is necessary that some participants should be identified with a platform which recognizes the following elements:

- 1) That the principal enemies of the African people are the capitalist class in the U.S.A., Western Europe and Japan.*
- 2) That African liberation and unity will be realized only through struggle against the African allies of international capital.*
- 3) That African freedom and development requires disengagement from international monopoly capital.*
- 4) That exploitation of Africans can be terminated only through the construction of a Socialist society, and technology must be related to this goal.*
- 5) That contemporary African state boundaries must be removed to make way for genuine politico-economic unity of the continent.*
- 6) That the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa are revolutionary and anti-imperialist and must therefore be defended against petty bourgeois state hegemony.*
- 7) That the unity of Africa requires the unity of progressive groups, organizations and institutions rather than merely being the preserve of states.*
- 8) That Pan-Africanism must be an internationalist, anti-imperialist and Socialist weapon."*

13.1.2.The Position of Women in Pan Africanism and Governance According To Silvia Hill As Proposed By Mwalimu Nyerere and Walter Rodney

Another contribution which came as the offshoot of the Seventh Pan African Congress was the position taken by the women who decided to put into practice some of the recommendations of Walter Rodney and the Seventh Pan African Congress.

Sylvia Hill who was one of the principal organisers of the Seventh Pan African Congress of Dar es Salaam, admitted that even though there were heated disagreements aired especially between the delegates from the Caribbean and the United States, the Congress was a great success. She admits that there were more positive outcomes that outweighed the negative ones which people were talking about. In an interview, she told the reporter William Minter, (2003 and 2004) that it was due to the innovative strategies proposed by the Seventh Pan African Congress that she embarked on the various strategic innovative work in Southern Africa for the enhancement of the liberation movements struggle to attain freedom and assert their self-determination:

“Six PAC,” the sixth in the series of Pan-African congresses initiated by W. E. B. Du Bois, came more than two decades after the historic Fifth Congress in Manchester, England in 1945. It was the first to be held in Africa. Hill is aware that many observers discount the congress because of the heated disagreements that were aired, particularly among delegates from the United States and the Caribbean. But there were positive outcomes, she insists. I’ve read and I’ve heard people say that the conference didn’t produce anything, and I’m like, wait, wait, wait,” she said in a 2003 interview. “It was really Six PAC that led me to return and work on Southern Africa. There were a group of us who committed ourselves that we were going to work against colonialism, and it was based on the investment in this congress and the agenda of the national liberation struggle.”

Sylvia Hill went further to demonstrate how she took the cue from Mwalimu Julius Nyerere to work directly with the people of South Africa because his strategy was the people-to-people pragmatic hands on approach. This was the method which enabled activists and pro-activists advocates to be more relevant on the field. This method of approach was successful as she shows because it was an all-inclusive open space which allowed every individual to figure out and apply from her talent and capacity base, than from just mere theory which was kind of mainstreaming everybody to apply the same normative principle approach.

She goes further to show the success story of this open-space approach where women who were not successful academics and theoreticians were able to contribute more and build up their carrier as devoted pro-activists to the liberation movement cause, more than some of the arm-chair academicians and theoreticians. William Minter recounts how it came about that even those women who were in the background and considered more or less as underdogs of the celebrated Think-Tankers Caucus turned out to be very successful pro-activists for the cause of the African Liberation Movements in their various contributions in the USA back home. He recounts how:

“Hill and many of the other organizers wanted to establish direct connections between African liberation movements and African Americans. Tanzania, which hosted the event and had fostered wide participation from the United States through its embassy in Washington, was the key venue for bringing people together. Tanzania’s President Nyerere was keenly aware of the importance of people-to-people contact and of the critical contribution made by those who work behind the scenes. When national delegations to the congress were scheduled to meet with Nyerere, the all-male group of leaders of the U.S. delegation chose themselves as the five to go, despite a suggestion from veteran

activist Mary Jane Patterson that Hill should be included. That night, Hill recalls, Ambassador Bomani [the Tanzanian ambassador to the United States] came and said to me, "There will be a car to pick you up to take you to the president. You will meet with the president alone, and when the gentlemen get there, you will already be there." I was there half an hour before they got there. I was already on my second cup of tea when they walked in and they were so stunned to see me sitting there. On returning to Washington, Hill and a small group of fellow activists - almost all women - founded a small group called the Southern Africa News Collective, which grew into the Southern Africa Support Project in 1978. They were clear in defining their top priority as the local community. While they recognized the complementary role of national organizations focused on Africa and developed particularly close ties with TransAfrica, they argued that developing a local base of support for African liberation was essential. They raised assistance for Zimbabwean refugees in Mozambique and for the ANC exile school in Tanzania through annual "Southern Africa" weeks with radiothons, public meetings, and speaking engagements in churches and schools. It was this systematic work, Hill says, that built "a kind of social infrastructure of ties to institutions and sectors in the city" and that would later pay off in the Free South Africa Movement demonstrations. The relationship between local groups and other groups working on different aspects of solidarity was dialectical, Hill stresses. If it had all been one large bureaucracy, "we could have never done what was ultimately accomplished." It was local organizing in combination with national media attention to South Africa - and particularly TransAfrica's presence in the national media - that enabled the Free South Africa Movement coalition to sustain daily demonstrations at the South African embassy for a year, in 1984-85. Around the country, coalitions of local activists came together and took their own initiatives, inspired by the growing publicity and informed by resources from national groups."

Sylvia Hill defended the innovative strategies and the thrust from the Mwalimu Nyerere people-to-people insights that she and her women colleagues applied in garnering interest and support from the grass roots in the United States of America among the common folks for the pro-activism for the liberation movements of Southern Africa. She admits that these strategies paid off more because they were more pragmatic and allowed for the freedom of application by the individuals than from the outdated concentrated bureaucracy of management typical of some elitist-based and elitist-driven activist organisations. This is how William Minter was able to report on Sylvia Hill's invaluable input and the support-base created by her companions in the USA which produced more tangible material substance than just mere bureaucratic "Wahala" and Mumbo-Jumbo without much substance to show:

“People have a range of ways they express support. It’s everything from sitting in front of the TV and saying, ‘right on,’ to physically being there. Now if you want them there, you’ve got to work to get them there,” Hill reflects. What is significant, from the organizer’s point of view, is that the person expresses public opposition instead of private disdain for policies. The challenge for the organizer is to find that creative space that will permit ordinary citizens to express collective opposition. It is the task of the organizer to create venues for internal feelings to be expressed publicly. This the Free South Africa Movement accomplished. And therefore, one of our profound lessons of this movement is that one should never underestimate the power of symbolic protests to create a climate for political change.”

13.2 The Eighth Pan African Congress of Kampala, Uganda of 1994

The Eighth Pan African Congress of April 1994 was convened in Kampala, Uganda, under the leadership of President Yuweri Museveni. This was at the time dramatic changes were taking place to overthrow the Apartheid regime of South Africa after the relentless fights of the liberation movements. This was at the time of the celebrations of one of the colossal victories over Slavery, colonization and racism as testified by the preamble of the Congress stating:

“The push for political independence and an end to racism had been the guiding principles of the Pan African movement from the time of slavery. Since 1900, when the first Congress was convened, these historic meetings sought to carry forward a body of thought and action for emancipation which was shared by the African peoples at home and abroad. The 7th Pan African Congress benefited from the rich experiences of the African peoples and from the strength and weaknesses of the movement since the period of the Sixth Pan African Congress.”

The main theme of the Congress was, “Facing the Future in Unity, Social Progress and Democracy”. It is reported that the Congress was attended by over 800 delegates representing Pan African Organisations from all over the world from the Caribbean, Latin America, USA and Canada, Europe, Asia, Australia and Oceania and the Pacific Islands. There were in total an estimated number of over 2000 participants. The various militant and civil society groups represented at the Congress ranged from Liberation Movements, Women’s Groups, Youth Groups and Religious Groups.

Figuring among the pre-Congress activities was the Women’s Pre-congress Meeting held to arrange on the agenda of the Women. This was also graced by

the “cultural expressions at the Uganda National Theatre, the African Art Exhibition, the Opening of Africa Freedom Park” which preceded the opening of the Congress itself.

The Guest Editor’s Report, according to the African Journal of Political Science New Series (1996) “there were three outstanding characteristics of the Congress” namely:

(a) “The fact that the meeting took place despite the internal and external contradictions of the movement

(b) The formation of the Pan African Women’s Liberation Organisation and

(c) The establishment of a permanent Pan African Secretariat.”

It also highlights the fact that “the debates and actions of the Congress signalled a firm commitment to the idea that the Pan African Struggle was “one struggle, many fronts.”...”

13.2.1.The Problem of the African Identity: Black or Arab?

According to the Guest Editor Report, the preparative groundwork of the Congress had met with a split of opinions of the organizers of the Congress. The Report exposes the great Ideological differences of Pan Africanist on the question of defining who an African actually is and who has the right therefore to be a member of the Pan African Organisation. It brings out these interesting details:

“The internal contradictions of the movement dictated that before the meeting there were two initiatives called the 7th Pan African Congress. The original initiative, originating from concerned Pan Africanists in Nigeria, had become bogged down over the question of the definition of who is an African. The question of the ideological direction of this initiative was overtaken by the political struggles for democracy in Nigeria.”

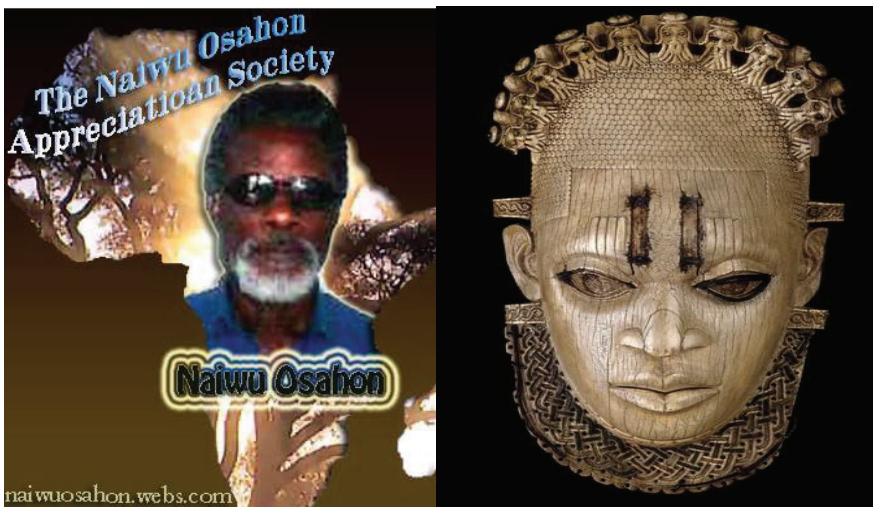
Even though the Nigerian delegation did not attend, not because, as the Guest Editor Report holds that they were “overtaken by political struggles for democracy in Nigeria,” but because they actually boycotted (Naiwu Osahon, 1993) this Congress which they classified as before the convening of the Congress as *THE 7th PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS THE UGANDA-ARAB ANTI-BLACK AFRICAN VENEER*. Naiwu Osahon (1993) even disqualifies this Congress as valid because of this Arab-Anti-Black Veneer.

Making the Kampala 7th (Eighth) Pan African Congress a non-event he states: *“We have often been asked if the 7th pan African congress has been held or not?”*

Naiwa Osahon explains that the Arabs, even though they were in Africa, they were not different from the Whites of South Africa who had created the Apartheid regime. According to him they were actually imperialist, even more virulent and destructive than the Apartheid Afrikaner Broeder, because they did not only start and perpetrated Slavery in Africa, they also destroyed Africa’s Religions and Cultures which they considered not only inferior but institutions to annihilate completely.

Actually, the Coran does not regard any other religion as valid except the religions of the “Book,” that is the Holy Bible, which is actually the Book from which Islam was inspired when Mohamed started his Hegira and his Jihad to convert Africa forcefully to Islam. Claude Zeltner (1982) gives a detailed documentation with statistics of the ravage Arab-Islamic colonisation and Slavery caused to Africa.

I had the experience personally when I lived for six years in the Grand Northern Region of Cameroon for six years and carried out research on Islam and the neighbouring cultures of the Regions. Even though there is a good cohabitation between the Muslims and the non-Muslims of Cameroon, it was very common to hear the Muslim communities refer to the non-Muslim communities as “Machube,” “Slaves”.



Photos 198(a) & (b): Naiwu Osahon and the Nigerian FESTC Mask

This was because the Islam which came to Cameroon, either from the Mahdi or from Senusi from the Fezzan and the Kanem-Bornu Empire by the

Zagawa of present day Darfur of Sudan; or the more radical and reformist Islam of Uthman Dan Fodio from Morocco, through Senegal, Mali, then Gao and Gobir into Sokoto to declare the Jihad against the Hausa Kingdoms; brought along with it the Slavery onslaught of the Hausa Zazzau Empire of Amina Zaria, the Kanem Bornu Empire, the Jukun-Kwarafa Empire and the Mbum Empire of Nigeria and Cameroon.

That explains why the neighbouring ethnicities were very hostile to this Islamic-Arabic imperialism which reinforced its power before the European colonisation. The Arabic brainwashing is such that there Cameroonians who are called “Shoa-Arab,” “Black Arab,” just as some assimilated black Africans are called “Black-Whiteman” in Pidgin.

Wherefore Naiwu Osahon argues that the Arab in Africa has to be treated just like the Afrikaner Broedebond of Apartheid South Africa, whom the liberation movements are fighting to overthrow. This is his argument:

“To quote the famous historian and a leader of the Pan African Movement, Prof. John Henrik Clarke, “When Africans were surrounded by Africa, they walked on it, bathed in it, ate from it and were not conscious of it. All of a sudden, now as slaves, having lost Africa, they began to be conscious of it. On the boat were Ibos, Urhobos, Asbanties, different people from different parts of Africa, speaking different languages and had different customs, but the Africans realised they were all Africans, and were on the same boat with the same predicament, and suffering the same tragedy.” The Pan African Movement came about as a reaction to racism and colonialism and these twin evils have not subsided, rather they have become more debilitating, reinforced with neo-colonialism. So far, Pan Africanism has reacted more seriously against White imperialism than the Arab variance that pioneered the Black slavery holocaust and has continued since, becoming even more virulent now under the cloak of subtle religious platitudes. The OAU as a geographical compromise helped to diffuse the issue and blind Black Africa to the plight of their kith and kin racially marginalised and suffering severely in Northern Africa. With their membership of the OAU, the Arabs were allowed to attend the 6th Pan African Congress in Tanzania in 1974, which they promptly disrupted by insisting that Africans do not need a global institution or league. To press their advantage home, they forced the congress to adopt Arabic as an official language. In fact, OAU Abuja conference of 1992 would not have been able to pass its landmark ‘Reparations’ resolution if any Arab Head of State from Northern Africa had been in attendance. Even so, the OAU resolution deliberately avoided mentioning Arab culpability and liability in the African slavery holocaust. So it is obvious that Arabs are not Pan Africanists. Quoting Prof. Clarke again: “Arabs always act as though they are not in Africa. Once when I was visiting Egypt, I told my Egyptian

Arab host to get a cab ready for the next morning that I was going to Kenya. So you are going to Africa to visit your people? We got no diseases here, why are you leaving us, the host asked?"... "The Arab in Africa will always be an Arab. They never were Africans and never would be. The Arab commitment has never been to Africa and will never be. This is the first self liberating truism every Pan Africanist must learn before they can seriously liberate Africa from all comers Africa is sandwiched between the Arabs in the North and the Whites in the South. Africa must fight her way through and win. All of Africa must come under African control. There are no two ways about this. No second guessing and no apologies. We must take control from Cape to Cairo." This has been the principal philosophy behind the new spirit of Pan Africanism which we have been promoting in the Black world in the last eleven years (i.e. from 1982 to 1993) as we prepared to convene the 7th Pan African Congress in Africa in 1995. The Pan African Movement's International Secretariat recognised from the start that we are at a critical crossroad right now in our movement forward and that we cannot afford to continue to listen too seriously to non-Black interests about what we have got to do for our self-improvement. We accepted from day one that while we may be anti-many things, PAM is not necessarily pro-everything else. That the only thing we are permanently proud of is the best interest of the Black race."

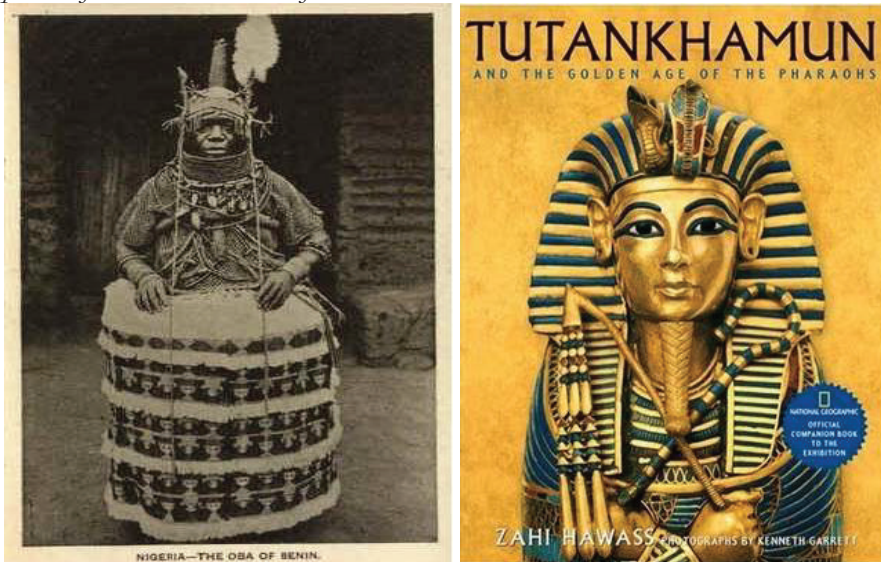


Photo 199 (a) & (a): The Oba of Benin-Nigeria and Tutankhamun of Egypt

It was on this identity crisis and the historical background of the Arab and Africans that the Eighth Pan African Congress was divided, as to who was African and who was not.

And to think of it from the beginning of civilisation, there were Africans and all Africans were Black. There were no White Africans as Admitted in the

Bible since all the descendants of Cham who populated Africa, according to the Jewish Historical Ideological Mythology, were Black.

13.2.2. The Definition of an African According To President Museveni

The Guest Editor Report on the Congress goes on to declare that despite all the debate and ideological camps about the identity of the Africa, it was finally resolved that the Congress should be held. And President took upon himself to define who an African was so as the open the debated. This is what the Report testifies:

“Despite the internal debates within the movement as to the definition of an African and the external pressures whether Africa could afford the meeting, the force of the demand to resist recolonisation dictated that the meeting should take place. At the opening of the Congress, one definition of an African was presented by President Yoweri Museveni, the Patron of the Congress. This definition listed five different criteria for those who could be called Africans and included those living on the continent; and those abroad.”

According to President Yuweri Museveni, the African could be defined to include the following categories:

- (a) Black Africans south of the Sahara
- (b) Africans who live in North Africa who had migrated from other continents and have made their home in Africa
- (c) Dispersed Africans in the Americas, Asia, Europe and the Pacific
- (d) White settlers in Africa who have decided to settle permanently and make their home in Africa and
- (e) Those who are ideologically attuned to the struggle for dignity by African people everywhere.

The Guest Editor Report went on to document the results of President Museveni which still opened up the debate since not all were quite satisfied with his definitions. Thus the Report states that:

“This definition of the African in the opening speech made a major breakthrough in rising above the racist definitions of humanity bequeathed by four centuries of European nationalism. Despite this definition, throughout the meeting, there were speakers who wanted to use racial definitions: this surfaced on the question of the former settler elements in Southern Africa and in the major debate in the conference on the Sudan.”

It would seem Sudan which was the guilty conscience “Arabicising Black State” who was at war with itself because the Southern Sudan Liberation Movements who were fighting the racist autocratic monolithic regime of Khartoum. Sudan is a good example of Naiwu Osahon is talking about Arab imperialism in Africa. The same is true of Morocco and Algeria where the Kabil the original Moors of North Africa, have been relegated to the background for the promotion of Arabism; just as in Egypt the original Black Coptic Egyptians have been relegated to a minority and pushed to the background in their homeland where Arabism has taken a very arrogant front stage Ideology of Identity.

That is why even though the largest delegation came from Sudan to the Congress so as to push the Arab propaganda, the Southern Sudanese also came out in full force to counteract any of the propaganda where the story of the Arab and the Camel had become the story of the Blacks and the Arabs. Even though the Arab problem was debated and the Arabs allowed to attend the Congress, and it would seem the problem of Arab imperialism was not taken seriously due to the success of the Arab propaganda. This how the Guest editor Report went on to testify:

“The largest governmental delegation in the meeting was from both sides of the war in the Sudan. The sentiment that Arabs were oppressing Africans was carried forward by those from Southern Sudan and from societies where the class and racial contradictions were collapsed. The anti “Arab” views were contested by many forces and was ultimately defeated in the Congress when the final resolution on reparations was tabled...Elements from the 1992 Abuja Conference on Reparations had come out in full force and their position had been forcefully represented both at the plenary and in the workshops.”

The Guest Editor Report states that the main objective at stake for the “Convening of the Congress” were as follows:

1. “To articulate a vision for the 21st century and a programme of action for the Pan African Movement.” Other salient points discussed on the agenda were:

2. The Progressive women who demanded that the reparations issue break with the conceptual poverty of the property relations of Europe. There were progressive women who were willing to locate the reparations debate beyond the damages inflicted by slavery, colonialism and apartheid.

3. Professor Ali Mazrui had led a special workshop on the crusade for reparations, and there were documents in African languages on this question.

4. However, despite the popularity of the reparations question among sections of the Pan African movement, the divisiveness of this debate came out in the final day of the conference.

5. The exposure of different sections of the Pan African world to the issues and questions of different regions was one of the high points of the meeting.

6. The question of South Africa has kept the Pan African world united since the Fifth Pan African Congress in 1945. The OAU Liberation Committee and member states had supported the anti-apartheid struggle, but even in this support there were many African leaders who benefitted from the survival of apartheid.

7. One major question for the movement was how to define the tasks of the Pan African struggle for the twenty first century.

8. In this effort, the report of the Southern Africa regional conference assisted in clarifying the ways forward in relation to enriching the popular search for Pan African Unity.

9. The resolutions on the tearing down of the borders in Southern Africa was one which resonated throughout the meeting.

10. The question of real people's cooperation beyond the governmental initiatives was presented on Sunday morning at the workshop on different regions of the Pan African World.

11. Despite the noted absence of elements from the African National Congress, the report of the Southern Africa regional meeting of the Congress outlined the practical measures which should guide the regional initiatives and be the base of the Pan African movement internationally.

12. The Canadian representatives, like the representatives from Germany, France and Britain, spoke to the increased racist attacks against Africans and the fact that African governments and the OAU are silent on this intensified racism in the aftermath of the cold war.

13. Many of the delegates raised the issue of the treatment of asylum seekers in Europe and the need for African governments to give dual citizenship to all Africans in the Diaspora.

14. That the Congress was able to debate and clarify its views on the content of the present leadership in Africa, on the struggles against racism in Europe and America, on the impact of the reorganisation of GATT, NAFTA and the European Union and on the impact of structural adjustment was a step forward. This was all the more important because the mentality of the

international financial organisations such as the IMF was that neither Uganda nor any other African country could afford a Congress of this nature.

The Congress was highly attended by delegations from Africa the World African Diaspora. Prominent among the powerful delegations were the Ugandans themselves, and the delegations from Ghana, Zimbabwe, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Cuba and Libya who were very visible due to their populations. The government of Sudan sent largest delegation. The Guest Editor Report notes that “their sterile anti-imperialism was an attempt to silence the large delegation from the Southern Sudan.” It went on to note that the “largest delegation in the Congress was the North American delegation from the United States and Canada.”

It also noted that the Congress was attended basically by those “countries in Africa which considered themselves progressive and anti-imperialist” who “bothered to turn up or to financially support the meeting.”

But one outstanding fact was that the Congress was not dominated by African governments because the majority of attendees and delegations came but from grassroots civil societies and organizations.

One very conspicuous phenomenon at the outset of the Congress was that there were those who lamented the absence of the leading academics from across the continent. The Guest Editor report admitted that none of the principal academic centres in Africa took the Congress seriously, and their absence was conspicuous.

Only very few academic and political activists such as Ngugi Wa Thiongo who were in exile from the continent made invaluable contributions on the questions of education and culture.

Also conspicuous were the youths who participated in the meeting. The Guest Editor Report highlights the fact that:

“Youths from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania along with the youths in the Southern African delegation held special meetings within and without the Congress on the special place of the youth in the reconstruction and renewal of the African peoples.”

For logistics purposes and to facilitate the interaction of delegations and representatives during the meetings, the Congress Organisers divided the Pan African World into 11 regions namely

1. Africa: North,
2. Africa: East,
3. Africa: West,

4. Africa: Central,
5. Africa: Southern,
6. Caribbean,
7. North America,
8. Central and South America,
9. Middle East,
10. Europe, and
11. Asia and the Pacific.

The Guest Editor Report informs that “of these regions, West Africa, North Africa, the Middle East, and Asia were underrepresented.” It goes further to explain that this low attendance could have been due to the inadequate manner in which the linguistic barriers were handled as it explains:

“The absence of large delegations from those societies formerly under French colonialism reflected both the dominant cultural and ideological role of the annual Franco African summit and the weaknesses of the Secretariat in distributing materials in French and Arabic.”

The Guest Editor Report noted the wide diversity of views in the conference, and the divergence that was reflected both in the character of the resolutions and in the content of the declaration of the Congress. It documents on the divergent views which sometimes became vitriolic as it explains that:

“The Congress attempted to conciliate the emotional and vitriolic outbursts from the Sudanese government by presenting a resolution calling on all parties to demonstrate maximum commitment to a comprehensive and lasting peace in the Sudan. This position was fully supported by those elements of the popular organisations from the Sudan who were in exile in Egypt. The intensity of the debates on the Sudan and the emotional speech by General Aidid, from Somalia, to the Congress gave delegates from North America, the Caribbean and Europe a taste of the intensity of the political, military, ideological and religious struggles on the African continent. The ideological divisions within the Pan African movement which had lingered since the period of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and the Sixth Pan African Congress erupted in the North American delegation. There were Pan Africanists of the Afrocentric mold, elements from the grassroots, workers, urban youth and the homeless, and members of the Nation of Islam and other religious formations. The struggles for the leadership of this delegation spilled over into the main meetings of the Congress to the

point where the heated interventions interrupted one of the principal presentations on the impact of the transition from fordism to just-in-time production for Africans in America and in Africa. So intense were these differences that some sections of the North American delegation were not able to benefit from the experience of freedom fighters and grassroots activists from all over the Pan African world...The ideological struggles of the Congress not only spoke to the content of meetings such as the 7th Pan African the Congress, but also to the form of the meeting which could inhibit genuine participation."

The Guest Editor Report also states that "differences in the North American delegation did not obscure the fact that the United States government had learnt the important lessons of the importance of the Pan African movement." Wherefore it was bent to use all its strategies as it had before to penetrate the organization and create mercenaries to torpedo the system. Wherefore he explained that whereas the Pan African movement has always been a major political and ideological force among Africans in the United States, from the period of slavery, where Pan Africanism was manifest in religious, cultural, political and philosophical forms; there were still some loopholes in the organization. This was due to what it attributes to "*the intellectual poverty and the individualism of American society has always affected the Pan African movement in the United States.*" It showed how the American government was good at window-dressing strategies where it used African-American mercenaries to penetrate and destroy the Pan African Organisation where it cited the example of one particular "Slave-Boy" African American who was shunned at the Congress testifying:

"That an African American had been promoted to become the Chairperson of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the US military was one indication of the attempt by the ruling elements in the USA to manipulate the Pan African sentiments among the African American population. To pursue this manipulation, the African American who is the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs turned up in Kampala during the Congress. However, the loud ovation which was given from the conference floor to General Aidid from Somalia reflected the fact that US officials, whether African or not, were not welcome at this Congress."

13.2.3.Cohesion between the Progressive Women Organisation and the Caribbean Delegation

The Guest Editor Report notes how there were very interesting highlights in the Congress, like the cohesion of the Caribbean delegation and the

Progressive Women's Organisation. That seems to be the sunny-side of the Congress as it goes on to document that:

"The most cohesive and unified presentations were from the Caribbean and Southern Africa. The Caribbean delegation had been in the forefront of calling for the unity between the Kampala initiative and the initiative of Naiwu Osahon of Nigeria. The Caribbean delegation reported on the level of activities, the mobilization and the nature of the representation from the region. Collectively, this delegation came forward with the issues of the outstanding vestiges of colonialism and the issues of the blockade against Cuba, along with the question of the restoration of democracy in Haiti. The sad situation was the cohesion of the Caribbean and Southern Africa reports which were missing in the reports from other regions. ...The one section of this delegation which escaped this intense polarisation were those women who were intent on learning from the strengths of African women who wanted to carry forward the ideas communicated in launching the campaign to protect African women everywhere from the growing religious and cultural fundamentalism."

The reason why the Women came out very strong and united was due to the fact that the women had had time to hold pre-Congress workshops and preparatory meetings to discuss salient points affecting women and the relegation of the women to the background. According to the Guest Editor report, "the principal advance of the Pre-Congress meeting was the fact that the meeting facilitated the positioning of women's issues clearly on the agenda throughout the Congress."

Women had come to realise that the Pan African movement and the Congresses had always been very male dominated where women were made to play second fiddle and were never at all celebrated like the men who were always paraded in the annals and visual screens of Pan Africanism. The Guest Editor Reports highlights this innovative fact of Women's agency which was gaining ground in the subsequent Congresses as we have seen in the Seventh Pan African Congress in Dar es Salaam with the African American Women strategist led by Sylvia Hill. It therefore documents on the fact that:

"The Pre-Congress Women's Meeting was historic because prior to the meeting, one of the major demands was that if Pan Africanism was to be relevant in the 21st century it had to break out of the male centred mold of the 20th century which celebrated great leaders such as Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. Du Bois, George Padmore, C. L. R. James, Cheikh Anta Diop, Patrice Lumumba, Franz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Malcolm X, Walter Rodney, Bob Marley and Nelson Mandela. The women

brought to the fore the fact that the past representation of the Pan African movement tended to silence women, and that while the past Congresses were meetings of men calling for independence, women were at the forefront of the Pan African struggle on a day to day basis. At the Pre-Congress meeting, there were seven workshops with intense discussions and papers on the impact of structural adjustment on African women, on the African Women and her environment, the position and status of African women African women, and the law, increasing the survival of the African woman and child, the role of women in cultural development and the building of a Pan African women's liberation movement."

Highlighting then on the Women's Agency that was gaining ground in the Pan African Congresses, the Guest Editor Report mentions the groundbreaking intervention of the Women which set its mark on the Congress of Kampala. It cites the intervention of Fatima Banikar Mohamoud, a Sudanese political exile, who talked of the need for the creation of the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation as a crucial step to educate Africans to cease from perpetrating violence against Women, and frustration of the Rights of Women, a phenomenon still rampant in the androgynous Patriarchal-driven Africa of today. For if there was African Liberation, there still was the need for the Liberation of the African Woman. This intervention of Fatima was hailed by women of the other delegations especially the North American and the Diaspora women who gave their full support for this clarion call from the women. This is how this intervention was documented and highlighted:

"The Intervention of Women. Fatima Babiker Mohamoud, a Sudanese political exile, gave one of the most profound presentations in both the Women's Pre-Congress Meeting and in her major address to the Congress focusing on the need for a Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation. Her presentation was even more significant because the issues raised by the debate on women in the Pan African movement cut through the divisive debates on the Sudan and the question of the relationship between Pan Africanism and Islamic Fundamentalism. The intervention of the women opened up the issue of those religious and cultural forms (traditions) which were practised to reinforce the oppression of women....Throughout the Congress, women met daily to discuss the logistics of the formation of the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation. The ultimate formation of this organisation was a clear attempt to move beyond the state centred women's organisations which are usually led by the wives of the political leaders of Africa. The issue of engendering Pan Africanism took new force as women from North America, Europe, the Caribbean, South America and Africa undertook to give organisational form to the most important struggle for the twenty first

century after majority rule in South Africa: the struggle for the transformation of gender relations among the African peoples everywhere.”

13.2.4. Open Forum for Networking and Comparison of Notes

Another positive aspect of the Congress was that consecration of an entire day for networking reviewing, processing and comparing reports in a plenary session from different regions. The country reports became one of the most interesting aspects of the Congress. As it turned out, these reports directly addressed the first objective of the Conference which was the location of the concrete conditions and on-going struggles of African peoples continentally and the Diaspora.

This was the procedure that made it possible for the Congress to come up with more than 70 recommendations, ranging from environmental issues to the struggles of domestic workers. Some of these recommendations stood out very forcefully in the face of the Congressists. One of them was the “main resolution of the women which focused on:

“Giving total support to political struggles for equality undertaken by black women and called upon state and other organisations participating in the Congress to tackle the problem of the oppression of women thoroughly and profoundly.”

Other subsequent resolutions were:

- The creation of a Permanent Secretariat to ensure sustained activism in order to achieve the goals of the 7th Pan African Congress. This came up because of the idea to break the individualism of the movement where the ideas of great persons would be celebrated as that of the movement.
- The most permeating idea was also to move away from periodic Congresses to create a movement.
- The idea of deliberations and resolutions on all aspects of the Pan African struggle, on
 - The emancipation of women,
 - The political education of the youth, on
 - The rise of racism and fascism in Europe and America, Angola, Somalia, Libya, Palestine, the Sudan and Haiti and on
 - The economic blockade against Cuba.

- The constant reminding of the Congress of the anti-colonial struggles in Martinique, Cayenne, Puerto Rico, Aruba and (the over 20 colonies where African peoples did not have (the right to self-determination.
- The question of the breaking down of the borders in Africa and the creation of a Permanent Secretariat.
- The very urgent need to improve the effectiveness of the political work of the movement in the context of the new world order
- The 7th Pan African Congress resolved to call upon Pan Africanists and their institutions to individually and collectively uphold the rights of children. The meeting called upon governments to look more seriously into the material, emotional and psychological well-being, comprising security, food, clothing, health-care and an African-conscious education.
- The reiteration of the declaration of the Sixth Pan African Congress in 1974 in Tanzania, the call was that henceforth Pan Africanism was informed by the class struggle internationally.
- The reiteration of the declaration of the 7th Pan African Congress was that African peoples everywhere should resist recolonisation.

One of the outstanding outcomes of the Congress were the Youths who maximized in pooling their energies together in order to realise the possibilities of harnessing the most advanced technology to carry forward the work of liberation. This was demonstrated during the Congress by youths who published a daily bulletin in French, English and Kiswahili on the major debates and struggles within the Congress. They were quick to remind African leaders that it was not enough to pontificate about science and technology, but to apply the practical possibilities of using this technology for political networking and liberation which they brought out in the open for everyone to see and appreciate.

It was reported that the Ugandan government offered to host the Permanent Secretariat. It was also intended that this organisation will be the first of its kind with representation from all corners of the Pan African world to have its headquarters in Uganda. It was also intended that the Secretariat will be convening meetings in the nine designated regions of the Pan African world. The International Preparatory Committee was then dissolved to make way for a new governing council which was formed at the end of the Congress.

Tajudeen Abdul Raheem, was elected the new Secretary General, and was given the task, along with the interim management committee, “to merge the movement with the national committees so that there will be activities and

meetings in all parts of the world so that the Pan Africanism on the streets can inform the political struggle for dignity and freedom.”

The overall evaluation of the Congress showed the Congress was considered a success by all those who participated as delegates or as participants and observers. This success was due to the fact that grassroots representation from the Ugandan Pan African committee ensured that the meeting was not an OAU type meeting.

This success was also due to the fact that the original hurdles which the Congress organizers had to face from the outset were surmounted. These were hurdle like during the debates in the governing body of the meeting, which the International Preparatory Committee (IPC), was pre-occupied with as to whether the Congress would be guided by principled political action or by protocol. It was finally realized, according to the Guest Editor Report that:

“The diversity of views “did not detract from the fact that the main thrust was to reverse the depoliticisation and the demobilisation of the African peoples in this period of the reorganisation of the international system. That there were major struggles ahead was signalled on the last day of the conference by the death of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. The ensuing carnage in Rwanda sharpened the urgency of the Pan African Movement to give clear leadership beyond the rut of the politicisation of ethnicity, regionalism and religion in Africa and beyond. Delegates left the Congress energised “to take action that will rid the world of the curse that has plagued humanity for over five centuries. We the African people are our own liberators and thinkers whose task is to make a mighty stride towards genuine freedom by any means necessary.”...”

It is very interesting to note that this burning question of the definition of the African, and who actually was African came up at the Second African Festival of Arts in Lagos named the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture – FESTAC of September 1977, co-organized by the Government of Nigeria and UNESCO, (Bongasu Tanla Kishani, 2012) supported also by some intellectuals of West African Francophone countries. The Nigerian Pan Africanist delegation, led by Naiwu Osahon did not want that the Arabs should be included or be invited in the Congress, on the grounds that the Arabs have not only considered themselves Arabs, but that just like the racist white communities, they have always treated Africans not only as inferior, but even worse that they consider dogs of some vile animals like pigs. The argument was that the Arabs since the Seventh century, started the dehumanising Slavery in Africa which has continued till this day in North Africa where they are just settlers like the Whites of Southern and Eastern

Africa; and in Mauritania and Sudan which claims Arabism even though they are Black.

True as it is, the question now is that will Black Africans invest in the overthrow of the Arabs and their regimes in North Africa as Naiwu Osahon declares that Black Africans must rule from Cape to Cairo, just like Sonny Okunson as far back as the 1980s asked the question in his lyrics that: “We want to know who owns the land; From Cape to Cairo, We want to know who owns the land.”

For the sympathisers of Pan Africanism and its Humanistic Mission, one would say that this move is called for seeing the adamant and totalitarian way in which Arabs and Islam are operating in Africa today as before without qualms of conscience.

And the frightening question which comes up is that with the rising fundamentalism and intolerance of Arabic Islamism, does Africa not run the risk of the story of the “Arab and the Camel” that if care is not taken and the Black Africans become alert of their sustainable livelihood and welfare, wont the Arabs one day overrule Africa with their aggressive penchant for Religious fanaticism like the Wahhabi and Al-Qaida and money; as well as their ambition to establish their hegemony and intolerant Religion of Islam over Africa for a more convenient Arabic-Islamic space?

Looking at what Naiwu Osahon describes as the complacent manner in which African leaders keep quiet when Black Africans and people of Black African descent are treated in the North African world, is it not very crucial to launch the clarion call for the liberation of Northern Africa from the Arab Settlers before it becomes too late?

And the question any Pan Africanist would ask is: what are the strategies, material financial and human means that would be put in place for this liberation?

Another question would be how realistic is this endeavour today for a Pan African Liberation Movement to overthrow the hegemony of the Arabs in Africa?

13.2.5. Congress or Conference and Dates

Another problem to resolve is this idea about Congress as opposed to Conference. It also goes with the problem of giving honour where honour is due.

Does it mean that small people or short people are insignificant because of their statue even if they are creators and originators of Great Ideas?

Conference is defined by the Google Oxford Dictionary as “*a formal meeting in which many people gather in order to talk about ideas of problems related to a particular topic (such as medicine or business) usually for several disarrangement, or promotion of some matter of common interest.*”

A Congress is defined as “*A formal meeting or assembly of representatives for the discussion, arrangement, or promotion of some matter of common interest.*”

One realizes that linguistically and materially speaking, the only difference is that a congress is attended by representatives, while a conference can be attended by individual persons not representing anybody.

But the outcome is to talk and make decisions on common interest.

But representation can always start small, especially when people are not yet sensitized to take common action. But so it does not mean that the representation must always be large from the beginning.

This is the reason why I have chosen to number my Pan African Congress from the time of its inauguration by the Trinidadian Barrister Henry Sylvester Williams in 1900 in London. Wherefore there are eight Pan African Congresses that have convened since 1900 to 1994.

That is how I understand Naiwu Osahon (2000 - 2009) when he recognizes only the 1945 Pan African Congress of Manchester as he declares that:

“There has been only one Pan African congress in the history of the African world and it was held in Manchester, England in 1945 and called the fifth because we are used to counting jamborees as congresses, the Uganda-Arab gathering, rich in rhetorics and short in substance claims to be the seventh. The second but called the eight pan African congress scheduled to convene within the next nine years would exclude non-Africans and formally institutionalise the pan-African movement.”

These questions come up because it would seem there is a deliberate conspiracy by Pan African Intellectuals to make a blackout of the original initiator of the Pan African Congress/Conference, and the inventor of the word Pan-African, Henry Sylvester Williams in 1900.

Even though a black out is deliberately made of the contributions of Henry Sylvester Williams the founder and initiator of the Pan African Congress of 1900, it is necessary for Pan Africanists to remember that no amount of semantics and quibbling and power wrangling will save Africa until we all come to render honour where honour is due.

The claim of symbolic titles is not worth the trouble like the actual inventions and drudgery that go to build the realities of those titles. And that is

why whatever is said and done, one cannot ignore the intellectual capacity and the intellectual property rights of the inventor of a patent.

That holds true with Pan Africanism, where it has become a fight of whether it was Henry Sylvester Williams, or WEB DuBois, or even still Marcus Garvey who should be accredited with the founding of Pan Africanism.

And it is absurd that African intellectuals would like to cultivate intellectual dishonesty by making a “tabula rasa” of the contributions of others just to uphold a certain ideological and domineering school of thought.

The truth is that whatever WEB DuBois must have contributed to Pan Africanism; he jumped to ride on a horse that was groomed by Henry Sylvester Williams.

Or is it because America wants to rule over everybody and police the world that the same virus has attacked African Americans that they must pose as the leaders of everything? Or is it because Henry Sylvester Williams was from West Indies, just like Marcus Garvey, that it was believed that the leadership of Africa and Pan Africanism cannot come from some small insignificant Island in the Caribbean. Mind you great minds do not need to come only from big places. The proof today is Usain Bolt and Jamaica that has produced the World’s Greatest Black leaders in all fields even though so small.

WEB DuBois was a Great Pan Africanist who developed the great ideas of Pan Africanism, without doubt. But the simple truth is that he was not the founder of Pan Africanism. And so he cannot be called the father of Pan Africanism. He can be given that Honoris Causa title of the Father of Pan Africanism or truly speaking can be referred to as one of the Great fathers of Pan Africanism.

It would seem the megalomania of America caught up with some writers of the history of Pan Africanism so as to obliterate anything that was not American enough in its craze and ambition to be at the top of the world. Reading in between the lines, one finds this subtle but forceful rivalry, sponsored by the USA, between American and the Caribbean Black Political leaders.

The Various Crises Leading to the Birth of the African Union

In their quest for unity, governance, economic and social development, African countries under the banner of the OAU, took various initiatives and made substantial progress, despite the crisis, in many areas which paved the way for the establishment of the AU.

14.1. Areas of Success Crisis – Leading to the Founding of the African Union

Certain landmarking programmes paved the way for the eventual creation of the African Union namely:

The Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Final Act of Lagos (1980); incorporating programmes and strategies for self-reliant development and cooperation among African countries.

The African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Nairobi 1981) and the Grand Bay Declaration and Plan of Action on Human rights: two instruments adopted by the OAU to promote Human and People's Rights in the Continent. The Human Rights Charter led to the establishment of the African Human Rights Commission located in Banjul, The Gambia.

Africa's Priority Programme for Economic recovery (APPER) - 1985: an emergency programme designed to address the development crisis of the 1980s, in the wake of protracted drought and famine that had engulfed the continent and the crippling effect of Africa's external indebtedness.

OAU Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes taking place in the World (1990): which underscored Africa's resolve to seize the initiative, to determine its destiny and to address the challenges to peace, democracy and security.

The Charter on Popular Participation adopted in 1990: a testimony to the renewed determination of the OAU to endeavour to place the African citizen at the centre of development and decision-making.

The Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) - 1991: commonly known as the Abuja Treaty, it sought to create the AEC through six stages culminating in an African Common Market using the Regional

Economic Communities (RECs) as building blocks. The Treaty has been in operation since 1994.

The Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution (1993): a practical expression of the determination of the African leadership to find solutions to conflicts, promote peace, security and stability in Africa.

Cairo Agenda for Action (1995): a programme for relaunching Africa's political, economic and social development.

African Common Position on Africa's External Debt Crisis (1997): a strategy for addressing the Continent's External Debt Crisis.

The Algiers decision on Unconstitutional Changes of Government (1999) and the Lomé Declaration on the framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes (2000).

The 2000 Solemn Declaration on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation: establishes the fundamental principles for the promotion of Democracy and Good Governance in the Continent.

Responses to other challenges: Africa has initiated collective action through the OAU in the protection of environment, in fighting international terrorism, in combating the scourge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, malaria and tuberculosis or dealing with humanitarian issues such as refugees and displaced persons, landmines, small and light weapons among others.

The Constitutive Act of the African Union: adopted in 2000 at the Lomé Summit (Togo), entered into force in 2001.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) : adopted as a Programme of the AU at the Lusaka Summit (2001).

By the end of the 1990s the OAU had almost lost clout of the world around her, especially in the African world. Critics and observers were of the opinion that the OAU in particular did little to protect the rights and liberties of African citizens from their own political leaders, often dubbing it the "Dictators' Club". Its role as a unifier and a motivator for new ideas and incentives for the 21st century began to appear irrelevant.

This became even more so when South Africa finally gained democracy and the Apartheid regime was defeated. Africa badly needed a new more focused leadership in order to address the challenges of the 21st century. Muammar-al-Gaddafi was the answer and fire brand leader who traced the road map of the African Union.

It was through the initiatives of President Muammar-al-Gaddafi that an Extraordinary Summit of the OAU was held in Sirte, Libya on 9 September 1999 and called for the establishment of an African Union. The creation of this African Union was in conformity with the ultimate objectives of the OAU

Charter and the provisions of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

The Constitutive Act made provision for a defined transitional period which ensured a smooth and gradual transition of the OAU and AEC into the Union. The Constitutive Act replaced the Charter of the OAU. The Constitutive Act entered into force thirty days after ratification by two-thirds of the 53 Member States of the OAU, replacing the OAU Charter of 1963.

However, the Charter was intended to remain operative for a transitional period of one year or such further period as would be determined by the Assembly, for the purpose of enabling the OAU/AEC to undertake the necessary measures regarding the devolution of its assets and liabilities to the African Union and all matters relating thereto.

The adoption of the Constitutive Act was seen as the first step in an ongoing process to streamline and rationalise the existing organisational framework of the Continent.

In so doing it made the African Union relevant to the demands of the 21st Century and to achieve the ultimate goal of complete African unity. The African Union was building on the successes and failures of the OAU, which, since its inception, developed into the political and economic, and even a cultural fulcrum of Africa.

The Lomé Summit of the OAU on 11 July 2000, concluded with laying down, after the Sirte Summit, the Constitutive Act of the African Union was adopted.

The Union was intended to evolve from the OAU and the AEC into one unified institution – the African Union. The Lomé Summit in 2000 also acknowledged the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA) as creating a synergy between the various activities currently undertaken by the OAU/AEC, which therefore was meant to help consolidate the work of the OAU/AEC in the areas of peace, security, stability, development and co-operation.

In this regard, the CSSDCA was intended to provide a policy development forum for the elaboration and advancement of common values within the main policy organs of the OAU/AEC.

The Lusaka Summit (2001) drew the road map for the implementation of the AU. During the same period, the initiative for the establishment of the New Partnership for Africa's Development -NEPAD, was also established.

The Durban Summit (2002) launched the AU and convened the 1st Assembly of the Heads of States of the African Union.

The African Union was finally launched in Durban on 9 July 2002, by its first chairperson, South African Thabo Mbeki, at the first session of the Assembly of the African Union. The second session of the Assembly was in Maputo in 2003, and the third session in Addis Ababa on 6 July 2004.

Objectives of the AU

The African Union – AU's objectives in general, are different and more comprehensive than those of the OAU. The objectives of the African Union, as contained in the Constitutive Act, are to:

- Achieve greater unity and solidarity between African countries and the peoples of Africa;
- Defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States;
- Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent;
- Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples;
- Encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- Promote peace, security, and stability on the continent;
- Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;
- Promote and protect human peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments;
- Establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations;
- Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies;
- Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples;
- Coordinate and harmonise the policies between the existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union;
- Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology; and

- Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

The Vision of the AU

The AU is Africa's premier institution and principal organization for the promotion of accelerated socio-economic integration of the continent, which will lead to greater unity and solidarity between African countries and peoples.

The AU is based on the common vision of a united and strong Africa and on the need to build a partnership between governments and all segments of civil society, in particular women, youth and the private sector, in order to strengthen solidarity and cohesion amongst the peoples of Africa.

As a continental organization it focuses on the promotion of peace, security and stability on the continent as a prerequisite for the implementation of the development and integration agenda of the Union.

The Organs of the AU

- The Assembly
 - Composed of Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government is the supreme organ of the Union.
- The Executive Council Composed of Ministers or Authorities designated by the Governments of Members States. The Executive Council is responsible to the Assembly.
- The Commission Composed of the Chairperson, the Deputy Chairperson, eight Commissioners and Staff members; Each Commissioner shall be responsible for a portfolio.
- The Permanent Representatives' Committee Composed of
 - Permanent Representatives of Member States accredited to the Union. The Permanent Representatives Committee is charged with the responsibility of preparing the work of the Executive Council.
- Peace and Security Council (PSC) by decision AHG/Dec 160 (xxxvii) of the Summit of Lusaka, July 2001, a decision was made for the creation within the African Union of the Peace and Security Council. The Protocol establishing the PSC is in the process of ratification.
- Pan-African Parliament
 - A Pan-African Parliament, an organ to ensure the full participation of African peoples in governance, development and economic integration of the Continent. The protocol relating to the composition, powers, functions and

organization of the Pan-African Parliament has been signed by Member States and is in the process of ratification.

- ECOSOCC

- The Economic, Social and Cultural Council, an advisory organ composed of different social and professional groups of the Member States of the Union. The statutes determining the functions, powers, composition and organization of the Economic, Social and Cultural Council have been prepared and will be submitted to Maputo Summit.

- The Court of Justice

- Court of Justice of the Union shall be established. The statutes defining the composition and functions of the Court of Justice have been prepared and will be submitted to the Assembly in Maputo.

The Specialized Technical Committees

- The following Specialized Technical Committees are meant to address sectoral issues and are at Ministerial Level:

- The Committee on Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters;
- The Committee on Monetary and Financial Affairs;
- The Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigration Matters;
- The Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, Energy, Natural Resources and Environment;
- The Committee on Transport, Communications and Tourism;
- The Committee on Health, Labour and Social Affairs; and
- The Committee on Education, Culture and Human Resources.

The Financial Institutions

- The African Central bank
- The African Monetary Fund
- The African Investment Bank

14.2. Progress in the Implementation of the Constitutive Act

Since the Lusaka Summit decisions on the transition from OAU to AU, progress has been made as follows:

- The preparation and adoption of the Legal Instruments for the operationalisation and the launching of the 4 principal organs: The Assembly, The Executive Council, The Commission and the Permanent Representatives Committee.

- The elaboration of the Structure of the Commission and the conditions of service of staff.
- Completion of the Studies and Legal instrument for the operationalisation of ECOSOCC
 - Completion of the Studies on the Financing of the AU
 - Preparation of the Statutes of the Court of Justice
 - Transfer of assets and liabilities from the OAU to the AU
 - Preparation of a Protocol on Relations between the AU and RECS
 - Finalization of the Protocol on the Pan-African Parliament (under ratification)
- Finalization of the Protocol on the Peace and Security Council (under ratification)

Preparation of the Policy Framework for the establishment of the African Standby Force and the Military Staff Committee

Finalization of the process of electing Members of the Commission by the Assembly of the Union in Maputo.

The AU Commission

The Commission is the key organ playing a central role in the day-to-day management of the African Union. Among others, it represents the Union and defends its interests; elaborates draft common positions of the Union; prepares strategic plans and studies for the consideration of the Executive Council; elaborates, promotes, coordinates and harmonizes the programmes and policies of the Union with those of the RECs; ensures the mainstreaming of gender in all programmes and activities of the Union.

- MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION
 - Chairperson;
 - Deputy Chairperson;
 - Eight (8) Commissioners.
 - Staff members
- PORTFOLIOS OF THE COMMISSION
 - PEACE AND SECURITY
 - Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, and Combating Terrorism.
 - POLITICAL AFFAIRS

- Human Rights, Democracy, Good Governance, Electoral Institutions, Civil Society Organizations, Humanitarian Affairs, Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons.

- INFRASTRUCTURE AND ENERGY

- Energy, Transport, Communications, Infrastructure and Tourism.

- SOCIAL AFFAIRS

- Health, Children, Drug Control, Population, Migration, Labour and Employment, Sports and Culture.

- HUMAN RESOURCES, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

- Education, Information Technology Communication, Youth, Human Resources, Science and Technology.

- TRADE AND INDUSTRY

- Trade, Industry, Customs and Immigration Matters.

- RURAL ECONOMY AND AGRICULTURE

- Rural Economy, Agriculture and Food Security, Livestock, Environment, Water and Natural Resources and Desertification.

- ECONOMIC AFFAIRS (Economic Integration, Monetary Affairs, Private Sector Development, Investment and Resource Mobilization.).

- INTERIM ARRANGEMENT

- In accordance with Article 33 (4) of the Constitutive Act, the Secretary General, the Assistant Secretaries General (ASGs) and the Staff of the former General Secretariat of the OAU were designated as the Interim staff of the Commission.

- After the Durban (South Africa) Summit, an interim period began with effect from July 9, 2002 to last for a duration of one year; after which the 2nd Ordinary session of the Assembly in Maputo (Mozambique) elected the Chairperson, the Deputy Chairperson and appoint the Commissioners through the Executive Council.

14.3 Official Bodies For The Build-Up And Strategies To Solve Emerging Crisis Of Governance And Regional Instability In The African Union

The Official Bodies for the Build up Of the African Union

The re-launching of the African Union was met with lots challenges that had to be handled properly and effectively if Africa was not to make the same mistakes it had done in the previous four decades of the existence of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU.

Actually the main initiator of the entire project, President Muammar Gaddafi, was very careful not to be misinterpreted as Kwame Nkrumah was, and accused for trying to hijack the African Union.

Even though that fear was already expressed in the pipe line, since President Muammar Gaddafi flaunted a lot of Libya's wealth, in his efforts to get the Union Government take off, lots of tact had to be employed by those who understood the issue at stake.

It must be recalled that after the benefits many African Heads of State were already very cosy in their Cold War Acquired privileges and corrupt wealth and the Machiavellian Empire niches they had created in Africa. They were not willing to lose these privileges too soon. Ayela Bekerie (2001, 8) graphically paints the picture of these inconsistencies in Africa when he elaborates:

“During the Cold War, individual African countries were players, courted by both east and west, eager to expand their spheres of influence. The Cold War was a boon for authoritarian leaders of the right and left. Mobutu, first Prime Minister of Congo, made billions in the name of fighting Communism, while millions of Congolese were hungry and impoverished. Since 1989, Africa has been marginalized. It is this context that the present leaders of Africa have decided that Africa must unite if it is to make its voice heard in the global economy. As Africa emerged from colonialism in the 1950s leaders such as Ghana's Dr. Kwame Nkrumah argued that Africa could only survive as a single entity. Others, such as Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Cote d'Ivoire and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia believed that the newly independent countries must first build strong nation states. The OAU was created as a compromise between these points of view. When Libya's Colonel Muammar, first suggested creating a “United Africa” two years ago, leaders of South Africa, Nigeria and Egypt reacted with scepticism. Now it seems African leaders have decided unity is an idea whose time has come. One reason is that most regions in the world are forging larger economic blocs and Africa does not want to be left behind. Many African countries conduct more trade with their former colonial masters than with each other. African Union is an attempt to end this situation by making trade within Africa easier by reducing obstacles to trade.”

This section of this work will try to treat the various strategies that were put in place by the fathers of the African Union to arrive at a compromise and at a workable platform acceptable for everybody.

Pan-African Parliament (PAP)

The Pan-African Assembly is intended to ongoing act as the highest legislative body of the African Union. The seat of PAP is at Midrand, South Africa. The Pan African Parliament is composed of 265 elected representatives from 55 AU states. PAP's objective is to provide popular and civil-society participation in the democratic governance processes. Hon. Dr. Idriss Ndele Moussa of Chad is the first president of PAP.

Assembly of the African Union

It is composed of Heads of Member States of the African Union and Heads of Government. At the moment the Assembly is the supreme governing body of the African Union. It is gradually delegating some of its decision-making powers to the Pan African Parliament. Currently it meets once a year and makes its decisions by consensus or by a two-thirds majority. President Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo of Equatorial Guinea is the current chairperson of the African Union.

African Union Authority

The African Union Authority is made up of a secretariat composed of ten commissioners and supporting staff. Its headquarters is situated in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Just like its European counterpart, the European Commission, it is responsible for the administration and co-ordination of the activities and meetings of the African Union.

African Court Of Justice

The African Court of Justice by Constitutive Act takes charge of ruling on disputes over interpretation of AU treaties. The African Court of Justice was set up by protocol that was adopted in 2003 and entered into force in 2009. It is envisaged that this protocol would be superseded by another protocol which will create a Court of Justice and Human Rights. This latter Court will incorporate the already established African Court of Justice and Human and Peoples' Rights. The new African Court of Justice will have two chambers:

- one for general legal matters and
- one for rulings on the human rights treaties.

Executive Council

This is composed of ministers designated by the governments of member states of the African Union. It is intended to decide on matters such as foreign trade, social security, food, agriculture and communications. It is also

accountable to the Assembly of the African Union. Its main objective is to prepare material for the Assembly to discuss and approve, pending consultation with the Assembly of the African Union.

Permanent Representatives' Committee

This consists of nominated permanent representatives of Member states of the African Union. The Committee is expected to prepare the work for the Executive Council. Its role is very similar to the role of the Committee of Permanent Representatives in the European Union.

Peace and Security Council (PSC)

This was proposed at the Lusaka Summit in 2001 and established in 2004 under a protocol to the Constitutive Act which was adopted by the African Union Assembly in July 2002. The protocol defines the PSC as a collective security and early warning arrangement to facilitate timely and effective response to conflict, crisis situations and disaster management in Africa. The Peace and Security Council has other pertinent responsibilities which include the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts, post-conflict peace building and developing common defence policies. The Peace and Security Council is made up of fifteen members who are elected on a regional basis by the Assembly. The African Union's Peace and Security Council is a replica, in intent and operation, of the United Nations Security Council. The only difference is that it is not dominated by any super-power system or structure like in the UN Security Council.

Economic, Social and Cultural Council

This is an advisory organ composed of professional and civic representatives. It is structured along the lines of the European Economic and Social Committee. Barrister Akere Muna, a Cameroonian, was elected in 2008, the chairperson of ECOSOCC. He is also a lawyer of the Pan-African Lawyers Union (PALU).

Specialised Technical Committees

Specialised Technical Committees were approved by the Abuja Treaty and the Constitutive Act. The establishment is supposed to be made up of African ministers who advise the Assembly. Actually, they have never been set up. They are supposed to cater for specific areas of interest among which figure ten prominent themes namely:

- Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters;

- Monetary and Financial Affairs;
- Trade, Customs, and Immigration;
- Industry, Science and Technology;
- Energy, Natural Resources, and Environment;
- Transport, Communications, and Tourism;
- Health;
- Labour, and Social Affairs;
- Education, Culture, and
- Human Resources.

Financial Institutions

One of the greatest strides the African Union has made since the founding of its predecessor, the Organisation of African Unity. This is what Kwame Nkrumah suggested in 1963, at the founding of the OAU. He had advocated for the creation of the African monetary system and an African single currency and an African Bank for African Development. These financial institutions were rather belated but still timely at the dawn of the 23st Millennium. However they will hopefully, grow up and take their rightful place in the banking world. They are:

- African Central Bank – Abuja, Nigeria
- African Investment Bank – Tripoli, Libya
- African Monetary Fund – Yaounde, Cameroon.

Even though these institutions have yet to be established, the Steering Committees working on their founding have been constituted. The ambition is great but doable, especially with the determination of the African States. Now that President Muammar Gaddafi is no more, it is now very crucial since there is a vacuum left that cannot be filled for very long time. The idea of a single currency (the Afro), would eventually be delayed, if the AU objective to have an African Bank and a single currency will not become a mirage.

Human Rights

The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, has been in existence since 1986. It is established under the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the African Charter) rather than the Constitutive Act of the African Union. It is the first and foremost African human rights body. It is

endowed with the responsibility for monitoring and promoting compliance with the African Charter.

The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights was established in 2006 to supplement the work of the Commission. This started after the entry into force of a protocol to the African Charter providing for its creation. In the long run it is planned that the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights will be merged with the African Court of Justice.

African Energy Commission

The African Energy Commission, is intended to structure and control the energy resources in all its forms. Africa has one of the greatest hydro energy in the world in the river Congo. This is going to be harnessed by the South African 13 Billion Project for a hydroelectric dam which takes in 2013. This project will supply all Africa with electricity.

This is the dream of Kwame Nkrumah come true. Africa cannot industrialise without a strong energy base. This project was first envisaged by the European Union.

Africa is also endowed with alternative energy sources like solar energy. That is another source of energy which Africa is building on for the future.

Role of the Diaspora In African Development

The African Union Constitutive Act stipulates that it will "invite and encourage the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of our Continent, in the building of the African Union".

The Diaspora can contribute greatly in funding development projects in Africa and in World Trade generation the way Marcus Garvey had projected for the development of Africa by Africans.

The African Union Government has defined the African Diaspora as "consisting of people of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union".

The Diaspora participation in developing Africa is at the base of the founding of Pan-Africanism. W.E.B. DuBois and Marcus Garvey would smile from their graves today when they realise this dream is coming true.

14.4. Current Issues Plaguing Africa And The African Union And Strategic Re-Adjustments – Regional Conflicts And Governance, Military Interventions And Health

The main objective of the African Union ties up a lot with the Millennium Development Goals – MDGs and New Partnership for African Development - NEPAD's objectives. These objectives comprise among others the eradication of war and peace-building process, eradication of hunger, fighting HIV/AIDS, eradicating infant mortality, eradicating ignorance through education, especially of the girl child, enhancing the environment and the eco-system, enhancing communication and infrastructure, etc.

However the challenges African Union has been facing since its inception in 2002 is that of the major and minor conflicts that Africa generated. Most of these conflicts are domestic in nature, because of bad governance and deprivation of the masses of their participation rights in governance as well as the equitable distribution of the nation's resources and wealth.

J. K. Shinkaiye, Chief of Staff in the Chairperson's Office, of the African Union, Addis Ababa (2006) outlines among the priorities of governance challenges in Africa and role of the African Union, the creating an environment of peace in Africa when he says:

“The democratic and good governance ethos embedded in the Constitutive Act was reinforced by the need to create an environment of peace and security as an enabling condition for development and good governance. At the inception of the Union in 2002, the continent was ridden by a wave of conflicts in the Mano River Union (embracing Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia) Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan, Somalia, Zimbabwe and the Central African Republic. The chaos, crisis and political turmoil inspired by the conflicts threatened violence, anarchy and disorder. The AU explicitly recognized that the persistence of the conflict would undermine its broad agenda of democracy and development. Hence, it adopted a proactive approach to resolving these conflicts. The approach emphasized early response to developing conflict situations and a process of active mediation on a day to day basis with the instrument of special envoys and special representatives. The approach stressed comprehensive coverage so that conflicts are not isolated or treated with indifference.”

African leaders adopted the Protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the Union to reactivate and strengthen the peace and security framework of the continent. This adoption reinforced the scope and capability of the AU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention,

Management and Resolution. Within this mechanism of the AU the main objective is to “promote peace, security, and stability on the continent”. The African Union set up a new security architecture which includes the creation of a Peace and Security Council operating at three levels - ambassadorial, ministerial and summit – with responsibility for overall peace and security of the continent.

Its main policy focuses on the Peaceful resolution of conflicts among Member States of the Union. Strategic diplomacy is applied using such appropriate means as may be decided upon by the Assembly. The Peace and Security Council is a decision-making body in its own right, and its decisions are binding on member states. It is the principal body charged with implementing the objectives and principles of the AU. This implies that the PSC has the power, among other things, to:

- authorise peace support missions,
- impose sanctions in case of unconstitutional change of government,
- and
- “take initiatives and action it deems appropriate” in response to potential or actual conflicts.

In order to attain its objectives without opposition, Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act, of the African Union, repeated in article 4 of the Protocol to the Constitutive Act on the Peace and Security Council - PSC, also recognises the right of the Union to intervene in member state in circumstances of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity.

However any decision to intervene in a member state under article 4 of the Constitutive Act will be made by the Assembly on the recommendation of the PSC. In order to achieve this objective the new AU Peace and Security architecture also provides proactive strategies for strengthening partnerships with relevant international actors, sub-regional, regional and other international organisations and non-state actors. This makes the new Peace and Security architecture to be quite unique.

This clause of intervention in member states’ territory mindless of the sovereignty clause, on account of crimes against humanity is a breakthrough in the African Union Charter, which now distances itself from the unpopular clause of non-intervention of member states in the internal affairs of other member states.

Since its inauguration and its first meeting in 2004, the PSC has been active in relation to the various internal domestic conflicts and crises in Darfur, Comoros, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Ivory

Coast and other countries. Through its various acts of mediation, it has adopted resolutions creating the AU peacekeeping operations in Somalia and Darfur.

It has also tried to impose sanctions against states and persons undermining peace and security (such as travel bans and asset freezes against the leaders of Somalia, of the rebellion in Comoros, etc.). The Peace and Security Council is in the process of overseeing the establishment of a “standby force” which will eventually serve as a permanent African peacekeeping force.

Apart of peace and conflict resolution issues the African Union is also facing a lot of challenges, primarily among which is the health issue with the fight against malaria and the AIDS/HIV pandemic as the main priority. The second challenge is the political issue of good governance; and the problem of undemocratic regimes that are still current in Africa today. Another problem facing the African Union is that of mediating in the many civil wars that are currently plaguing Africa today.

There are also economic issues such as the task of improving the standard of living and the quality of life of millions of impoverished, uneducated Africans. Alongside of this is the excruciating environmental and ecological problem coupled with the issues of eradicating famine and hunger; food sufficiency, desertification, and the poor environmental management that accounts for the problem many African countries are facing as regards ecological sustainability. There are also legal issues like the Western Sahara issue and the self-determination of the people of Sahrawi.

14.5. The Problem of the Policy of Union Governance and Regionalism

At the AU Accra Summit of July 2007, held in Ghana, the main debate focused on the creation of a Union Government, whose objective the gradual attainment of the United States of Africa. In late 2006 a study on the Union Government was carried out and proposed various options for “completing” the African Union project.

However there are as usual divisions of opinions on how this Union will eventually come about. African states are still not united on how they would like to see the Union come about. Many are very reticent with the proposals of Libya with the adoption of a maximalist view, just like Kwame Nkrumah, leading to a common government with an AU strong army.

On the contrary there are those, especially the southern African states, who opt more for the strengthening of the existing structures, with some specific reforms to handle and deal with administrative and political challenges in making the AU Commission and other bodies truly effective.

After a heated debate during the Accra Summit, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government finally agreed in the form of a declaration to review the state of affairs of the AU. This was intended to determine its readiness towards a Union Government. The salient points agreed upon at the Accra Summit encouraged the Assembly to:

Accelerate the economic and political integration of the African continent, including the formation of a Union Government of Africa;

Conduct an audit of the institutions and organs of the AU; review the relationship between the AU and the RECs; find ways to strengthen the AU and elaborate a timeframe to establish a Union Government of Africa.

The Accra Summit was quite aware of the role civil society plays in any system in promoting good governance and actually encouraged the participation of the African people and those of the Diaspora, to join in the nation building process which will eventually lead to the building of the Union 'Government,

The Accra Summit was very proactive in that it set up a panel of eminent persons to conduct the 'audit review'. The 'audit review' team began its work on 1 September 2007.

At the end of the review the team presented its results to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government Summit at Addis Ababa on January 2008. Although no final decision was taken on the recommendations of the audit review team, a committee of ten heads of state was appointed to consider the review and report back to the Cairo Summit of July 2008. It was at the Cairo Summit that a decision was once again deferred for a final debate at the Addis Ababa Summit of January 2009.

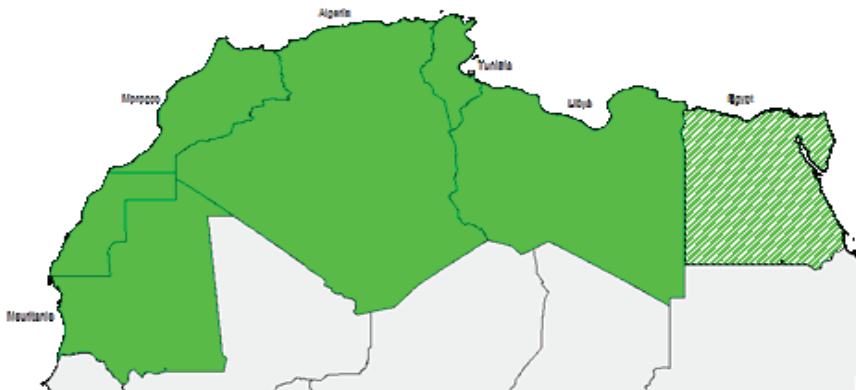
It was at this Addis Ababa Summit that the key debate was tabled on how to quickly go about the achievement of a greater continental integration of the continent as a unit in itself first; while bearing in mind the need for another relative priority which lay in the integration of the sub-regions of the African Union.

Here again the Heads of State laid emphasis on the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action for the Development of Africa and the 1991 treaty to establish the African Economic Community – EEC also known as the Abuja Treaty, for Africa's sustainable development.

It was also at the Addis Ababa Summit that a proposal was made for the creation of Regional Economic Communities - RECs, as vital the basis for African integration. It was also agreed that a timetable be set up for the regional integration; and then for continental integration.

The African Union is currently working with eight recognised Regional Economic Committees – RECs, whereby each of them was established under a separate regional treaty. These are the following Regional Economic Committees:

- the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA)
- the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)
- the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD)
- the East African Community (EAC)
- the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
- the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
- the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC)



Map 13.1. The Arab Maghreb Union – UMA

The Arab Maghreb Union - UMA, which is made of the Western Mediterranean North African countries, is much viable of all the African States in that there are many conditions both natural and artificial and social that contributes to the capacity building of this Union. First we have the Political which defines all these States as Islamic States. Second there is the language component uniting them which is Arabic.

Wherefore they are defined as Arabic-Islamic States even though the Majority of the Ethnicity and Languages are not Arabic. The Ethnic majority is made up of the Kabil-Maur of Morocco, or the Maur of Mauritania, the Kabil-

Berber-Maur of Algeria, the Berber-Maur of Tunisia, the Berber-Bedouin of Libya and the Kemet-Coptic of Egypt.

These Maghreb States are linked logistically by road, by air and by sea. The Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Sea washes their shores and also provide good natural sea ports to these countries. Most of the populations are concentrated on the sea ports and sea coast which makes it easier to communicate by sea. The language which is Arabic is also lingua-franca thus permitting a much stronger cohesion among the citizens. The educational level is very high especially in countries like Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya. These countries have very large and performing airlines which also ply the region and Sub-Saharan region.

One would say that there is some kind of a stronger cultural unity among the various States. That is also true of the economic situation which is very complementary between the countries. These countries are all linked to the economy of Egypt and to the Greater Mediterranean Market.

That is why President Nicholas Sarkozy was advocating for the creation of the larger Mediterranean Market which was to include into the Southern European Market, the Maghreb States, Egypt, Israel and Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Cyprus and Malta.



COMESA Member States

Map 13.2. The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa – COMESA

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa States - COMESA is also a big market which is not as homogeneous as the Maghreb regional market. The potentials are great but the logistics are much poorer and need a lot of improvement.

Linguistically the zone is favoured by the use of English given that most of the States, apart from Libya, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi, Madagascar and Comoros Islands are former British colonies. There is an advantage that a bulk of the region uses Kiswahili, some French which are also part of the commercial and communication media in the region.

The draw back in the region has been the war in the Sudan which has contributed to some instability.

The region disposes of some good infrastructure on land and some good air logistics with Egypt, Ethiopia and Kenya controlling the air space of transportation and communication. The railway connections are not completely viable in all the States and needs some improvement with regard to more viable connections.

The Community of Sahel-Saharan States - CEN-SAD, contains a very large region enclosing the North African Arab States Except Algeria and Sahrawi and all the sub-Saharan West African States right across to Kenya, Eritrea, Sudan and Somalia, excluding Cameroon, Ethiopia and Uganda.

Here again the main problem in this market is the logistics problem and the infrastructure which is not well developed to connect the West African Sahelian countries and the East African countries.



CEN-SAD Member States

Map 13.3. The Community of Sabel-Saharan States - CEN-SAD

There are no direct roads connecting the Sub-Saharan countries and their Eastern African counterparts although one realizes that the Air logistics are

better because Kenyan Airways which provides air transportation in most of the African countries including the Sub-Saharan West African countries. The port infrastructures are good but they are too far apart. The railway lines do link the countries and so much transportation of goods to these member States in a great problem because this occurs only by the use of heavy trucks on dirt roads.

However the trans-African railway from Cote d'Ivoire to Burkina Faso, to Nigeria, through Central Africa to Uganda through to Mombasa is a timely project envisaged by the African Union to disenclave these territories and facilitate movement of goods and people.

The East African Community – EAC is among the smallest of Markets of all the regions and also the most viable as far as logistics, infrastructure by road, by train, by air and by sea is viable.

The region is also a favourable market of mobility and integration of people and goods because of its common local language where Kiswahili is predominantly the lingua-franca and the business language.



Map 13.4. The East African Community – EAC

Culture wise there is some homogeneity of peoples and cultures in this region which is a melting pot of cultures and peoples of different races all in one little place.

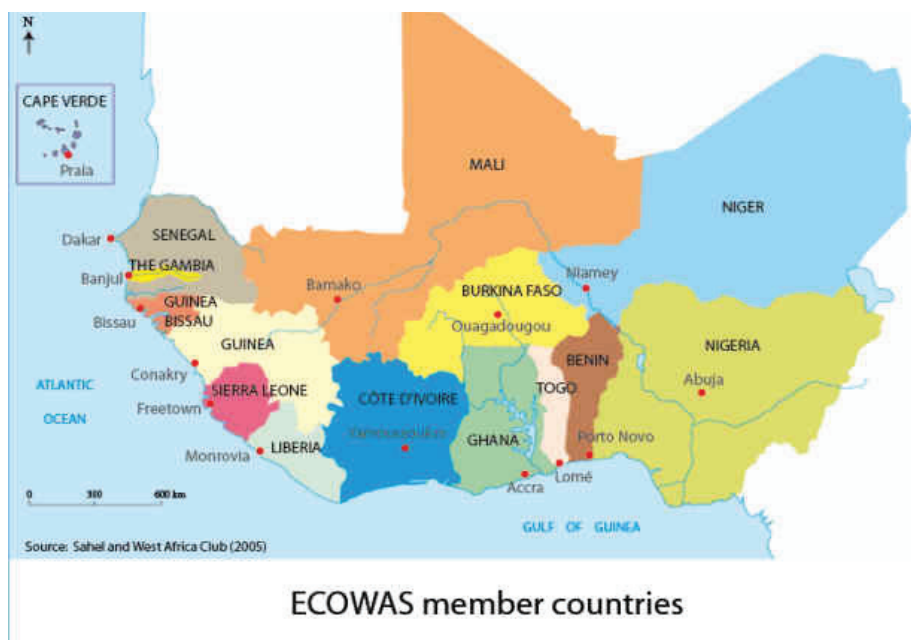
The Indian and Chinese presence in the region has boosted trade and cultural relations of this region with India and China. Kenya is benefiting from

the Indian advancement in IT technology to boost its training capacity so as to become one of the new markets for IT technology in Africa. The same is true with Rwanda that has opted to develop the IT technology in such a manner that Kenya and Rwanda should become the Silicon Valley of Africa in the years to come.

The Economic Community of Central African States – ECCAS or CEMAC as it is called in French, is the most backward region of Africa as far as Air logistics, road networks, and railway networks are concerned.

The ECCAS region is the richest of the entire Africa as far as natural resources, especially hard wood of the Tropical Forests of Africa, and mineral resources are concerned. It is the region with the second highest rainfall in the world, and with the most outstanding biodiversity in world after the Island of Galapagos in Ecuador.

It is also the region with the most diversified physical geography of the world mixing both tropical rain forest along with high mountains with temperate climatic zones and from thick tropical forests, equatorial rain forests to gallery savannah regions to open savannah, tropical scrubland to semi-deserts and expansive deserts in to the Sahara region. It is also the region with the greatest water-shed of Africa, giving rise to many great navigable rivers like the Cross River, the Akwaya-Yafe, the Mungo, the Wouri, the Sanaga, the Djaet-Lobo, the River Congo and the River Kwango the flows into the Congo that flow into the Atlantic Ocean.



Map 13.6. The Economic Community of West African States – ECOWAS

It is also served by a road network from Nigeria to Cote d'Ivoire, to Mali and then to Senegal. Its Air transport logistics is good enough for the region. The region also has several great harbours which facilitate sea transportation and mobility of persons and goods.

This zone has an advantage of two common commercial and administrative languages, French and English which are used in the entire region both for communication and for education. Many local languages like Wolof, Bambara, Malenke, Djula, Fulani, Hausa and Pidgin are lingua franca and commercial and communication languages in the region.

The region has also enjoyed till late, with the uprising of Boko Haram –Al-Qaida sect in Nigeria and the Tuareg-Alquaeda of Mali, some kind of Religious harmony between Islam and Christianity and Animism which cohabit in this Sub-Saharan countries.

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development – IGAD is a new region with a more disparate community than most of the regions of Africa.

This is because of the instability of the region due to the long civil war that has contributed to the disintegration of Sudan giving birth to Southern Sudan because of Religious and Ethnic differences and undertones like the Arabicised and Islamised Sudan and African Animist and Christian Ethnicities of Southern Sudan.

Logistically, the region lacks connecting road network between the countries. Good road and rail networks exist between Kenya, Uganda and to some extent with Ethiopia. But countries like Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Sudan and Southern Sudan are more in the periphery and cut off from the central countries connected with roads.



IGAD Nations

Map 13.7. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development – IGAD

The Air logistics and transportation is good within the region. The region has a good rather a precarious sea-port network due to the civil war in Somalia that has rendered it a Stateless State for some decades now.

The Southern Africa Development Community – SADC is of the most vibrant region in the economic and political world.

It is the region with one of the best road networks connecting all the countries in the region. It also possesses one of the best logistics network in Air transportation and communication in the whole Africa. Its sea ports are also well equipped for big ships and transportation connections.

It is a region with more diversified languages where English predominates and French and Portuguese are second languages of commerce and communication in the region.

Looking at its population it commands a big size of the population of Africa coming in the second position after ECOWAS in Africa.

Its market is vibrant because it can be said to be one of the highly industrialised regions of Africa because of South Africa.

The only drawback in the region as an integrating region of Africa is the highly xenophobic tendencies against Africans from other regions that have developed during the years of post-Apartheid. It is also a region with latent conflict because of the land problem in South Africa and Kenya that can become very explosive in future if land reform laws are not enacted to redistribute the land equitably. The fear is that the Zimbabwean syndrome might catch up with the region in the near future after Mandela's transition.



Map 13.8. The Southern Africa Development Community – SADC

It must be noted that although membership in many of these Regional Economic Committees overlap, this has become more of an asset for regional and continental integration, than a liability.

It was this rational of overlapping integration and bonding which formed the basis of the Banjul Summit in 2000, and laid the ground for more feasible manner of managing regional integration to enhance continental integration of the African Union model.

The Banjul Summit laid the foundation for the Accra Summit of July 2007 where the Assembly finally found it possible to decide on adopting a Protocol on Relations between the African Union and the Regional Economic Communities – RECs. The Protocol on Relations objectives were mainly the facilitation of the harmonisation process of inter-state policies to ensure compliance with the Abuja Treaty and Lagos Plan of Action time frames and strategies.

14.6. Regional Economic Committees Management and the Round-Robin Selection of Chairpersons of the Government of Union

One of the main problems that has been bugging the African Union, which was inherited from the Organisation of African Unity, has been the problem of leadership. All the heads of State have been very wary about holding to power with the fear of losing power if Africa was united and the nations had to be dissolved and the United States of Africa created. Who would rule Africa?

This has always been the crucial perplexing question. It might sound silly but there must be an acceptable module of regulating the leadership system put in place in Africa, before we can conveniently talk of founding a Government of Union for all the African States. It is under these considerations that in 2006, the African Union – AU, decided to create a Committee “to consider the implementation of a rotation system between the regions” in relation to the presidency.

Actually, at the 2006 Summit a controversy arose when Sudan, as a representative of the East African region, announced its candidacy for the chairmanship of the African Union. Several member states refused to support Sudan because of tensions over Darfur.

The Sudanese government was accused of supporting the Janjaweed militia that was causing all the genocide and ethnic cleansing that was taking place in Darfur. This opposition from AU Member States caused Sudan to ultimately withdraw its candidacy. President Denis Sassou-Nguesso of the popular Republic of Congo was consequently elected to a one-year term as Chairperson of the AU.

At the Accra Summit of January 2007, President John Agyekum Kufuor of Ghana replaced Sassou-Nguesso at the head of the AU. The attempt by Sudan to secure the leadership position to chair the AU had again failed because of the poor state of affairs in Darfur.

Actually President John Agyekum Kufuor’s nomination was pertinent because 2007 marked the 50th anniversary of Ghana’s independence.

This was seen as not just a symbolic moment, but a way of honouring Kwame Nkrumah, the main brain behind the Organisation of African Unity, for the country to host the mid-year summit at which the proposed Union Government was also discussed, and take the leadership chair of the AU.

During the following year, in January 2008, President Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania was given the chair of the African Union as the representative of the

East African Region. This apparently put an end to Sudan's unrelenting attempt to take the chair of the African Union. In 2009, Jakaya Kikwete was succeeded by the President of Equatorial Guinea, Obiang Nguema representing the Central African Region.

14.7. Some Burning Issues of Governance on the Table of the African Union

Since its creation the African Union has been struggling with a number of issues that OAU had failed to handle. These issues consist of the internal conflicts of self-determination and that of exclusion from participation in the power process. This is also accompanied by the poor distribution of the national wealth and poor governance system.

One of the main objectives of the African Union was to promote peace, security, and stability on the continent. Hence the main priority was the peaceful resolution of conflicts among Member States of the Union through such appropriate means as may be decided upon by the Assembly.

Its focus was on how to create a more enhancing environment to foster peace and security, through the promotion of democracy and good governance. Thus the democratic and good governance ethos embedded in the Constitutive Act was reinforced by the need to create an environment of peace and security as an enabling condition for development and good governance.

At the inception of the Union in 2002, the continent was ridden by a wave of conflicts in the Mano River Union (embracing Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia) Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan, Somalia, Zimbabwe and the Central African Republic. The chaotic situation engendered the persisting conflict which in turn created the crisis and political risk and turmoil which degenerated into violence, anarchy and disorder. The AU explicitly recognized that the persistence of conflicts would undermine its broad agenda for democracy and development.

Hence, it adopted a proactive approach to resolving these conflicts. The approach emphasized the preventive diplomacy tactics whereby it strategized on early response to developing conflict situations and a process of active mediation on a day to day basis with the instrument of special envoys and special representatives.

The approach stressed on comprehensive coverage so that conflicts would not be isolated or treated with indifference. In order to further strengthen the peace and security framework of the continent, African leaders adopted the

Protocol which initiated the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the Union and reinforced the scope and capability of the AU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution.

Wherefore the new security architecture included the creation of a Peace and Security Council to operate at three levels-ambassadorial, ministerial and summit – with responsibility for overall peace and security of the continent. The protocol was supported by modalities and guidelines for facilitating common defence and security, frameworks for controlling and combating terrorism, illicit flow of small arms and light weapons.

The Peace and Security Council - PSC was charged with the power, among other things, to authorise peace support missions, to impose sanctions in case of unconstitutional change of government, and to “take initiatives and action it deems appropriate” in response to potential or actual conflicts. The PSC is a decision-making body in its own right, and its decisions are binding on member states.

Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act, repeated in article 4 of the Protocol to the Constitutive Act on the PSC, also recognised the right of the Union to intervene in member state in circumstances of war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity. Any decision to intervene in a member state under article 4 of the Constitutive Act will be made by the Assembly on the recommendation of the PSC.

This is really a breakthrough in that the PSC is given this autonomy to act with separate authority and jurisdiction. This shows that the AU is gradually moving away from the OAU archaic control where the Heads of State had the sole authority to make policies and take decisions. It also seems that this PSC is somehow tied to the decision making style of the Security Council of the United Nations.

Since 2004 when it first met, the PSC has been active in relation to the crises in problem of Darfur Genocide and Southern Sudan; the civil war in Comoros, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of Congo; the land distribution issue in Zimbabwe; the electoral crisis in Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), and other countries; and the NATO intervention in Libya and the assassination of Muamar Gaddafi.

The African Union Peace and Security Council also adopted resolutions creating the AU peacekeeping operations in Somalia and Darfur, and imposing sanctions against persons undermining peace and security (such as travel bans and asset freezes against the leaders of the rebellion in Comoros). The Council is in the process of overseeing the establishment of a “standby force” to serve as a permanent African peacekeeping force

14.8. The African Union And The Darfur Genocide And Issues Of Governance In Sudan

When Colin Powel, in 2004, accused the government of Sudan headed by Oumar Bashir of Genocide in Darfur, Sudan the Arab League States and North African States did not digest very well the accusation. This genocide which took the form of racial and religious cleansing, against the Zagawa and the Wangara and Massa ethnicities in North Western Sudan, was masterminded by the Janjaweed militia supported by the central government of Sudan which sports and promotes an Arabic Fundamentalist identity and belonging.

Wherefore the Sudanese polity and government who claim an Arabic identity and culture, even though Black and African, engage in an ethnic cleansing of those who claim an African Heritage and culture.

Ironical as it would appear, the Arabic Fundamentalist drive does refuse to recognize the African origin, culture and heritage, which they consider inferior, just like the other northern African States who claim Arabicity and not Negritude and Africanism.

These are States like Morocco made up of Black Africans, Moors and African Berbers converted to Islam; and some Arabic colonizers who constitute a minority of the entire African population of what came to known as the Moors, who colonized Spain and southern France for nearly eight hundred years. These countries including Morocco, are Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, land of the African Berbers and African Moors, the land of Hannibal of Carthage (247–183 or 182 BC) the African, who conquered Europe and invaded the Roman Empire with five thousand war elephants across the Alps to sack and conquer Rome during the second Punic Wars. It also includes Egypt originally known as Kemet/Kemit (land of Cham/Blackness) the land of the Black African Pharaohs and African peoples of all descent.

All these States, which were later colonized by the Arabs, who are a minority in most of them, have endeavoured to impose their ethnic cleansing by declaring themselves Arabic while suppressing any Black African identity, culture, language and heritage.

It is under this psychological and physical ethnic cleansing that one can understand the genocide of Darfur; where Sudan's claims of Arabic identity and culture tries to wipe out whatever is African identity, culture, language and Blackness.

Francis M. Deng, (1997) on writing on this Arabicising and Islamising syndrome in Sudan who endeavours to maintain both the Islamo-Arabic and the Colonial status quo, explains:

“Throughout Africa, the goal of safeguarding unity within the colonial state has preserved the stability of colonial borders while generating ethnic tensions and violence within those borders. Sudan offers an extreme example. The dominant North, a hybrid of Arab and African racial, cultural, and religious elements, is trying to resolve its identity crisis by being more Arab and Islamic than its prototypes. Worse, this distorted self-perception, heightened by the agendas of political elites, is projected as the framework for unifying and integrating the country, generating a devastating zero-sum conflict between the Arab-Muslim North and the indigenously African South, whose modern leadership is predominantly Christian. The decision of the Founding Fathers of the Organization of African Unity to respect the colonial borders established a normative principle that has been followed with remarkable success. Secession movements have met with strong resistance from the OAU. Katanga tried to break away from the Congo (which became Zaire, now back to the Democratic Republic of the Congo) but failed. The secessionist Biafran war in Nigeria also failed. Somalia’s attempt to take the Ogaden from Ethiopia was decisively thwarted. Southern Sudan struggled for 17 years to break away from the North and in the end settled for autonomy in 1972. When the fighting resumed in 1983, the stated goal was and remains the creation of a new Sudan that would be free from any discrimination based on race, ethnicity, culture, or religion.”

Another problem surrounding the conflict of identity in Darfur was that Darfur is the home of Sanusiyat the African Sufi Islam which was developed in the 19th century by Sayyhid Muhammad ibn Ali as-Senussi (1787 – 1859), also known as Mahdism which spread into Northern Nigeria and Northern Cameroon before the Fundamentalist Islam of Usman Dan Fodio at the beginning of the 20th century.

This Islam which originated from Algeria and Libya from the Fezzan Empire into Kanem-Bornu Empire, which developed in southern Chad, North-West Sudan and North-Eastern Nigeria, had a very strong influence in the region and distinguished itself as an Islamic sect different and opposed to the Hilal and the Ulema Islam that was practiced in Egypt and North-Western Sudan. Senussi Islam was more adapted to the African environment and did not accept the fanaticism of the Ulema and the Wahhabi Islam that was practiced in Mecca and part of North-Eastern Africa.

Senussi Islam was more tolerant and liberal. It was against the use of stimulants and voluntary poverty, and did not prescribe very strict dress rules

like the Wahhabi and the Ulema, as well as it did not encourage dependency on Charity. It encouraged every Muslim to earn his living through hard work. This Islam which spread very fast in the Maghreb world was embraced by the Beduins and the Berbers. It should be noted that the Murid Islam of Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke of Tuba, Senegal got its inspiration from this African Liberation Theology Islam which encouraged its members to aspire and strive to earn their living through hard work and establishment of sustainable self-sufficiency.

The Senussi Islam had always been in rival with the Wahhabi or Ulema Islam practiced in North-East Sudan up till this day, when Islamic Fundamentalism is gaining ground in Africa. It is from this background that one must first situate the rivalry between the Arabic Fundamentalist Islam and the African Liberation Theology Islam, to understand the conflict of Darfur supported by the Government Official Arabicising Fundamentalist Islam, which also encourage Black Africans to sport an Arabic identity to the detriment of an Black-African identity, under the pretext that Black is inferior.

According to Eric Reeves (2005), the insurgency which began virtually unnoticed in February 2003, over the past two years, precipitated what was going to become the first great episode of genocidal destruction in the 21st century since the Arab and European-American Slave Trade and Genocide of Black people from the 7th Century to the 20th Century; the extermination of the Jews by Nazi Germany and the Rwanda genocide in the 20th Century.

The victims of the Darfur genocide were (Eric Reeves, 2005) the “*non-Arab or African tribal groups of Darfur, primarily the Fur, the Massaleit, and the Zaghawa, but also the Tunjur, the Birgid, the Dajo, and others.*”



Map 13.9. Political Map of Sudan and Southern Sudan

It is very important to understand the Islam of Darfur which is also opposed to the Sunni Fundamentalist Islam of Sudan. Since Darfur has always been the seat of Mahdism or Sanusiyyat Islam, founded by Cheikh Senussi and later diffused by his descendants under Cheikh Mahdi; this Islam, just like the Murid Islam of Tuba, Senegal, is more of an Africanised and acculturated Islam, which includes African cultural and philosophical principles in its teachings. This Islam later took roots in northern Cameroon and north Eastern Nigeria in the ancient Kanem-Bornu Empire. This is an integrative Islam with an African touch just like the Senegalese African Murid Islam of Ahmadou Bamba Mbacke of Tuba, Senegal.



Map 13.10. Political Map of Sudan showing Darfur

It is under this complex background that one can understand the Darfur crisis and its impact on the region.

When Colin Powell in 2004 declared that there was a genocide taking place in Darfur, many Arab States and some African countries did not want to give a listening and critical ear to the claims. As Rebecca Hamilton narrates (2011):

“In September 2004, then - U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, became the first member of any U.S. administration to apply the label “genocide” to an ongoing conflict. Interviews I conducted for Fighting for Darfur: Public Action and the Struggle to Stop Genocide revealed that despite a thorough investigation into the atrocities in Sudan’s western region of Darfur, the legal advice given to Powell was that the resulting evidence (on which he based his genocide determination) was inconclusive. Now a newly declassified State Department memorandum sheds further light on why Powell nonetheless decided to label the situation in Darfur genocide.”

The Darfur people have long been politically and economically marginalized, and in recent years the National Islamic Front regime, based in

Sudan's capital of Khartoum, refused to control the increasingly violent Arab militia raids of the African villages in Darfur. The competition between Arab and African ethnic groups contributed to the tension which was also created by the scarcity of primary resources in Darfur: for example the growing scarcity arable land and water-shed region exacerbated by overgrazing, advancing desertification throughout the Sahel region.



Map 13.11. Political Map of Sudan and Darfur

Eric Reeves says that what gave rise to the full-scale armed conflict was the government of Khartoum's failure to respond to the desperate economic needs of this huge region (it is the size of France or California), the decayed judiciary, the lack of political representation, and in particular the growing impunity on the part of Arab raiders.

And although this conflict was not directly related to the 21-year civil conflict that recently formally ended in Southern Sudan, with the signing of the historic agreement in Nairobi on January 9, 2005, for the Southern Sudan's referendum; Darfur's insurgency found early success against Khartoum's regular military forces.

But, as Eric Reeves explains, this success had terrible retroactive consequences:

“...the regime in Khartoum switched from a military strategy of direct confrontation to a policy of systematically destroying the African tribal groups perceived as the civilian base of support for the insurgents. The primary instrument in this new policy has been the Janjaweed, a loosely organized Arab militia force of perhaps 20,000 men, primarily on horse and camel.”

This explains how Colin Powel’s accusation of the Government of Sudan of systematic genocide in Darfur was founded. The former General and Head of State Department based his arguments on findings on the ground with evidence that was brought to him. Eric Reeves dwells on the genocide issue and process when he elaborates in his report (2005):

“The nature of the attacks on African villages in Darfur-as reported by numerous human rights groups-makes clear the Khartoum regime’s genocidal intent. Janjaweed assaults, typically conducted in concert with Khartoum’s regular military forces (including helicopter gunships and Antonov bombers), have been comprehensively destructive of both human life and livelihood: men and boys killed en masse, women and girls raped or abducted, and all means of agricultural production destroyed. Thriving villages have had buildings burned, water sources poisoned, irrigation systems torn up, food and seed stocks destroyed, and fruit trees cut down. Cattle have been looted on a massive scale, and most of those not looted have died from lack of water and food, as people flee into the inhospitable wastes of this arid region.”

The situation of the impasse in Sudan and the rest of Africa are due to the fact that most African countries, with large extensive land surface the like Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo or Mali and even Algeria and Niger and others are really larger than Western Europe and even much larger than many European States put together.

Yet they are managed by a centralized government which acts more like a colonial state over the rest of the peripheral polities of the region. These peripheral polities, like Darfur are virtually excluded from participation in the central government.

The result is the ensuing self-determination of the peoples and polities who feel left out of the representative platform of government, as well as deprivation and exclusion from the national wealth.

This is what A. Sarjoh Bah (2010) is referring to when he tries to analyse the Darfur case when he tries to present the position of the African Union and that of Sudan in these terms of exclusion, deprivation and non-representation:

“As the conflict between Government of Sudan and the Sudan People’s ‘Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) raged on for over two decades, long-standing tensions in Darfur were neglected. Meanwhile, negotiations led by the Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) culminated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005, marking the end of Africa’s longest running civil war; a conflict that had claimed the lives of approximately two million people and displaced millions more. However, the marginalisation of Darfur meant that the celebrations marking the end of the north-south conflict were short-lived, as news of mass murder involving government soldiers and their infamous militia allies, the Janjaweed, eclipsed the much celebrated deal. In Darfur, the Government and Janjaweed were pitted against the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), the two groups that had taken up arms against the Islamist government in early 2003.”

The Darfur situation became one of those test stories for the African Union and its credibility. But the situation was such that Africa was divided between the Arab Islamic States and the non-Arab and non-Islamic States.

Nevertheless, the sub-Saharan African leadership (led by Nigeria, South Africa, Senegal and Rwanda), took the bold step to go to Sudan. They did not want to be criticised once more for inaction as the AOU was during the Rwandan genocide.

The Sub-Saharan heads of State were determined to act through the newly established African Union (AU), whose founding treaty provides for intervention in cases of war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide. The AU due to pressure from the Arab and Islamic States did not want to describe the crisis as genocide, even though it had no doubts that the deaths of thousands of civilians required not only its intervention, but its outright vehement condemnation.

The AU was very keen to ensure that the Naivasha Peace process between the Government of Sudan and the SPLM should go through. And so Darfur was sacrificed and the genocide went on as usual.

The Arab League States could not facilitate matters with regard to Darfur; neither could they for the Sub-Saharan States nor for the African Union. This is because they could not really care a damn about what genocide was going on in Africa, as long as they did not jeopardize the objectives of the Arab League and the Islamic Union.

The Sub-Saharan States must always be forced to make concessions and even made to bend double when it comes to stand up for anything African.

This situation is well captured by Annette Weber (2010) in her analysis on the Darfur plight as she writes:

“Nowhere in its summit resolutions or statutes does the Arab League conceptualise its foreign policy as one driven by human rights, good government and the need to mediate in conflicts within its sovereign member states. Conflict mediation is limited to inter-Arab state conflicts. The AL mandate states clearly that the main goal of the organisation is to promote Arab unity. The understanding is brotherly peace amongst the AL member states and unity vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Whereas the European Union, the African Union and the United Nations see conflict mediation as a core mandate, the Arab League does not.”

14.9. The African Union And The Zimbabwe Land Crisis Of Governance

The Zimbabwe crisis is one of those issues the African Union was facing as to the idea of Human Rights to the people of Africa.

After the Lancaster House Agreements to purchase land from the White landlords to redistribute to the native African people of Zimbabwe who had suffered land seizure, expropriation and deprivation since the time of white settlers and colonization, no effective purchase and distribution was possible, due to lack of funds and good will from the part of many White landlords.

This is the reason why Chika A. Onyeani (2002) warns that the politics of Zimbabwe should not blind critics as to the main issue which is land distribution issue indicating that:

“In Zimbabwe, white farmers are still being defiant to the order issued by the government of President Robert Mugabe that they should vacate farm lands that government has targeted for takeover. Others have decided to obey the order. Unfortunately, the issue of land re-distribution, or “seizure” as the foreign media would have us believe, has been the most misunderstood, to the extent that it has been lumped together with the politics of President Mugabe. But the issue of politics in Zimbabwe, and ultimately that of Mugabe, should not be allowed to becloud the attempt by the country to the equitable re-distribution of land stolen by whites in the first instance without compensation to its rightful African owners.”

This is due to the post-colonial hangover of the so-called Peace and Reconciliation of the “Ubuntu” of the African people’s philosophy, which the White man in Southern Africa cannot understand; especially when it means

that he has to make compensation for the land he seized from the ancestors of the Black African Zimbabweans during colonization initiated by Cecil Rhodes.



Map 13.12. Political Map of Zimbabwe

The colonization of Africa was accompanied by one of the saddest stories untold in history that many Africans did not only suffer from slavery and colonisation but also genocide and deprivation of their rights and God-given land. The Herero of South West Africa, now Namibia, is just one of those many sad untold stories. Chika Onyeanyi documents on this issue in his commentary when he narrates:

“It seems the height of hypocrisy that the world should be focused on the plight and non-payment of compensation to white farmers, without as much as a mention of the savagery with which the Black African owners were massacred and their lands seized without compensation. The word Bulawayo, the second largest city in Zimbabwe, is an Ndebele word for “slaughter,” and it refers to the savagery of the British settlers, including the infamous Cecil Rhodes who had crushed the attempt by the indigenes to fight back, leading King Lobengula to swallow poison rather than be captured. Or should we forget the savagery of the bestial Sir Frederick Carrington, who had publicly advocated that the entire Ndebele race should be forcefully removed or be exterminated. Or that of profligate Ian Smith, who seized the government in 1965 and unilaterally declared the then Southern Rhodesia independent, when he refused to apologize for the atrocities he committed while he held office. In fact, he even boasted that he had no

regrets about the estimated 30,000 Zimbabweans killed during his rule. Said Smith, "the more we killed, the happier we were."...

This explains why the talk of Human Rights in the case of Zimbabwe is very complex and unjust since it is only for White Rights and not for the equitable rights of the entire people of Zimbabwe. This is just like in South Africa, where eighty-seven per cent - 87% of the land belongs to the Whites who constitute only eleven per cent - 11% of the entire population of South Africa.

The world media talks of the injustice of Robert Mugabe, but they do not talk of the injustices of the White population in Southern Africa and even East Africa, where the lands of Black people have been confiscated for centuries and today they refuse to equitably share the same land their ancestors seized from the indigenous Black people.

How then do they want us to measure Human Rights? Is it rights only when Whites are involved? Or are we supposed to see equitable justice everywhere be it for White people, be it for Black people?

One understands Chika Onyeanyi when he accuses the White farmers for shedding crocodile tears about the land redistribution policy of Mugabe:

"While white farmers continue to shed crocodile tears, it is a matter of record that in a land of more than 11 million people, the whites who make up less than 2% of the population, control more than 60% of the arable land. It is also a matter of record that although 95% of the white farmers have received notice to quit the land, those whose land has been taken over have all received compensation, and of the 500 who have agreed to leave peacefully some have also already been paid... As the Zimbabwe minister of industry and commerce, Nathan Shamuyarira once said, "The land we are talking about was occupied entirely by our people, the indigenous people of the country, until 1890. The [the British] reserved the best resources - land, cattle, and forestation, what have you - for themselves.... What the bill simply states is that Zimbabwe belongs to the indigenous people of Zimbabwe. It does not belong to anyone else."..."

This is the message of Human Rights the White farmers and the Western media are not able to embrace and swallow or even to contemplate and equitably evaluate.

The African Union has been taken hostage by the Western media and Western States who are the funders of containment and indentured slavery projects in Africa.

Does one doubt then why the African Union was not able to come out with a clear debate on Human Rights on the political crisis in Zimbabwe. The crisis in Zimbabwe was debated both by the African Union and in particular by the Southern African Development Community - SADC.

At African Union level, the situation in Zimbabwe was not only given a controversial focus of discussions in the Executive Council reports of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in which human rights abuses in Zimbabwe since the early 2000s was a leading subject.

But also Zimbabwe became a major focus of debate at the 11th AU Summit held in Sharm el Shaik, Egypt, in July 2008, with some states, including Senegal, Benin, Burkina Faso, Zambia, Botswana, Nigeria, Kenya and others backing strong action against Zimbabwe in light of the problematic second round presidential elections held in June of that year.

Among others in the debate on Zimbabwe, was Raila Odinga, the Prime Minister of Kenya, who called for suspension of Robert Mugabe and Zimbabwe from the AU.

However, even though the summit eventually adopted a resolution that did not apply any sanctions against the government of Robert Mugabe it was clear that the African Union had lost its credibility again. Nevertheless it had to save face again by merely urging the two main parties in Zimbabwe to negotiate a solution to their differences.

14.10. The African Union And Democratic Republic Of Congo Crisis Of Governance

Since the ousting of the autocratic president Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko of the Democratic Republic of Congo from power, and the taking over of the reins of power by Laurent Kabila, who was later assassinated and succeeded by his son, Joseph Kabila; and the occupation of the Rwandan military in the Eastern region of the country, under pretext of containing the Hutu genociders taking refuge among their kin in the Congo; the Organisation of African Unity could not reach a compromise as to what kind of effective government to establish in the DCR.

The African Union could not find a level playing ground, either for the democratic process to take due legal and legitimate process for the Congo to become a truly Democratic Republic in practice; or to handle the issues of its socio-economic development efficiently.



Map 13.13. Political Map of Democratic Republic of Congo

Since the bleeding of the Democratic Republic of Congo to near economic death by Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko, the DRC which was already in shambles and near collapse, has experienced indescribable violence in four stages resulting to genocide of the Hutu ethnicity in the Congo by Rwandan Tutsi-led forces of reprisals. The UN Report of 2010 establishes this violence and stages in the following terms:

“The report published today analyses four major periods of violence in the DRC: the waning years of the Mobutu Sese Seko regime (1993 - 1996), the war to overthrow Mobutu (1996-1998), the second war (1998 - 2001), and the period of transition (2001 - 2003). It also documents violence against women and children and the impact of resource exploitation on the conflict.”

The problem African Union was facing from the time of its inception was how to address in a more diplomatic manner the continued atrocities that were overtaking the peace building forces of the UN in the DRC since the fall of Mobutu Sese Seko and the rise into power of Laurent Kabila, and later Joseph Kabila.

After the Rwandan genocide the eastern Congo was controlled by gangs of rebel militia, some of which were led by the Hutu genocide leaders from

Rwanda like the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Rwanda – FDLR, another rebel group, the National Congress for the Defence of the People – CNDP, led by Laurent Nunda since 2003. These forces with all impunity illegally mined, taxed and exported natural resources, including gold, coltran, cassiterite and timber, with the help of traders and officials in Tanzania, Burundi and Uganda.

Rwandan incursions in the Congo and the military operations in eastern Congo under the pretext of stopping the continuation of the genocide of Congolese-Tutsi, popularly known as the Banyamulenge, escalated the genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Hutu in their vast homeland in eastern Congo of Kivu province. Rwanda also took advantage of the anarchic and chaotic situation in eastern Congo to exploit the mining and timber resources of the region. This is how the Congo government tended to support the FDLR at a period to contain the Rwandan government aggression and occupation, and Rwanda in turn supported the CNDP of Laurent Nkunda against the Congolese government forces and the FDLR.

The African Union was at a loss as to the kind of diplomacy to play in handling the Rwandan claims of pre-empting another genocide of Tutsi in the Eastern Congo while actually perpetrating another genocide against the Hutu ethnicity in the region.

The African Union was looking for outside support from the United States, Great Britain and some countries of the European Union in this venture. This is why Omer S. McDoom in his article in the International Herald Tribune of December 24, 2004 recommended that:

“However, the AU must see through the Rwandan discourse of “genocide” and “national security” to the network of economic interests acquired in the last two wars it has fought in eastern Congo. Rwanda’s principal fear is that its influence and interests — which have been independently documented by a UN panel — are threatened by Congo’s chequered progress toward elections and stability. By pressuring Rwanda, the AU will be asserting a leadership role in African conflict mediation. Its leadership will be reinforced if its statements are supported by credible threats from Rwanda’s important donors, the United States, Britain and the Netherlands, to cut Rwanda’s aid if it pursues this agenda. Overambitious leaders will then know that the AU is more than just a talk-shop. And if the United States backs a regional organization like the AU and it succeeds, it will relieve pressure for it always to play a lead role in resolving future crises. But if war cannot be averted through diplomacy, then UN forces must be prepared to live up to their mandate and protect civilians, with force

if need be. We must unequivocally stand by (the AU in its agenda to bring peace in the DRC)."

Even though some African leaders from the Great Lakes pledged to pursue peace under the auspices of the UN Security Council, on 20th November 2004, just a month later, the region was again on the brink of war. The fragility and precariousness of peace in eastern Congo remained evident and alarming till 2006 when before the presidential elections, a peace process was facilitated by Rwanda, DRC President Joseph Kabila negotiating the integration of Laurent Nkunda's militia into five brigades within the national army through a process locally known as 'mixage'.



Map 13.14. DRC Territory Occupied by various Militia Groups

The ultimate collapse of this agreement in May 2007 led to another escalation of violence and clashes in 2007 and 2008. The CNDP was once more supported and sponsored by Rwanda thus raising the instability of the region. Only international pressure compelled the DRC and Rwanda to address once again the deteriorating peace situation in the region. That is how on 20th January 2009 the Rwandan army was deployed in eastern Congo as part of the UN-backed Rwandan-Congolese joint operation against the FDLR rebel forces. This operation did not only prove a humanitarian disaster, as it provoked massive killings, rapes and the displacement of over 900,000 people from their homes. But the FDLR was back to its former full capacity after a month of the operation.

On August 26th 2009 a UN report by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN Report on Congo, 2010) assessed the

human rights violations in the DRC accusing the Rwandan troops and their allies of committing genocidal crimes against the Hutu populations.

The organisation of Medicines Sans Frontier – MSF, also attested to this accusations with authenticated documents against the Rwandan troops with their more detailed documentations. The report highlighted over 600 violent incidents between March 1993 and June 2003, with the most serious violations of human rights and international law committed in the eastern region of the DRC alone: It went on to state (UN Report, 2004; Michael Abramowitz, UN Report of the Congo, 2010) that:

“... it seems possible to infer a specific intention on the part of certain AFDL/APR commanders to partially destroy the Hutus in the DRC, and therefore to commit a crime of genocide, based on their conduct, words and the damning circumstances of the acts of violence committed by the men under their command...The scale, scope and detail of the crimes are too serious to be ignored...This report offers a shocking picture of violence directed against civilians in the Congo by multiple perpetrators over more than a decade. The allegations of serious violations of international humanitarian law should be treated with utmost gravity in the interests of truth-telling, combating impunity, and achieving justice for victims...Nothing in this report or these charges diminishes the facts of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, where at least 500,000 Rwandan Tutsi were murdered by a Hutu-extremist government in only three months...If anything, the report underscores the long-lasting, regional consequences of genocide and the importance of prevention efforts.”

This accusation not only attracted international notice but also the outrage of the Rwandan government who negated all accusations as mere allegations and accusing the UN of slander; as the Rwandan foreign minister Louise Mushikiwabo (UN Report on Congo,2010) intimated adding that:

“The UN can’t have it both ways. You can’t have a force serving as peacekeepers and it is the same force you are accusing of genocide.”

The Rwandan government, because of this accusation, then threatened to withdraw its 3,000 troops out of the 7,000 troops from Sudan, deployed with the UN and African Union peacekeeping mission in Darfur, Sudan.

One can understand the tight rope on which the African Union was walking its diplomacy and leadership strategy in Africa, bedevilled by diverse conflicts. The authoritarian and scape-goating attitude of the Rwandan President Paul Kagame, justifying his crackdown against the Hutus in the

pretext of curbing Tutsi genocide and pre-empting national insecurity; while at the same time perpetrating the genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Hutu ethnicity in Eastern Congo, was really perplexing to the African Union to handle.

The way in which the conflict in the Congo had dastardly degenerated by 2010 went on to confirm what Omar S. McDoom (2004) was afraid could happen if greater precaution and preventive diplomacy was not deployed in time adequately.

In his write up in the International Herald Tribune in 2004 he had advanced certain pertinent proposals stating that:

“The prospect of yet a third war in the lawless east of the Democratic Republic of Congo presents an opportunity for UN peacekeeping to redeem a tarnished reputation and for the African Union to assert its regional leadership. The United States has an interest in the success of these organizations in containing this conflict. It is worth reminding ourselves of what another military escalation in the region will bring about. First, while this dispute ostensibly concerns Rwanda and Congo, it is likely again to draw in neighbouring countries. Uganda accuses Rwanda of arming insurgents opposed to it and has already moved troops to its Congolese borders. Burundi’s delicate ethnic power-sharing arrangements — in place after 10 years of conflict between armed Hutu and Tutsi groups — is likely be upset, too. All parties have their eyes on eastern Congo’s extractable resources. Second, it will exact a horrific humanitarian cost. The death toll from violence, starvation, and disease after the last two major outbreaks (in 1996 and 1998) stands mind-numbingly at over three million. Terrified civilians, already on the move, will spill over borders and add to an unbearable refugee burden. Third, crimes against humanity will almost certainly be committed in the fog of war. All of these consequences we have seen before. There is a difference this time, though. This time there are nearly 11,000 blue helmets already on the ground with a mandate to use force “to protect civilians from immediate threat of physical violence.” While these numbers and this mandate obviously cannot prevent armies or proxy militias intent on war from engaging each other, these troops can reduce the civilian death toll. And it is overwhelmingly civilians who are killed in such conflicts.

At this point in time the African Union was again weakened to face the Rwandan President Paul Kagame, who arrogated to himself the Angel-Michael-hood of fighting Tutsi genociders; but who was actually sponsoring and promoting the genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Hutu in the DRC.

14.11. The African Union and the Somalian Crisis of Governance

The African Union inherited the Somalian crisis from the defunct Organisation of African Unity. Since 1990, Somalia has become a stateless territory, functioning without a central government since the civil war that ensued following the collapse of Said Barre's regime of 22 years – 1969 to 1991.



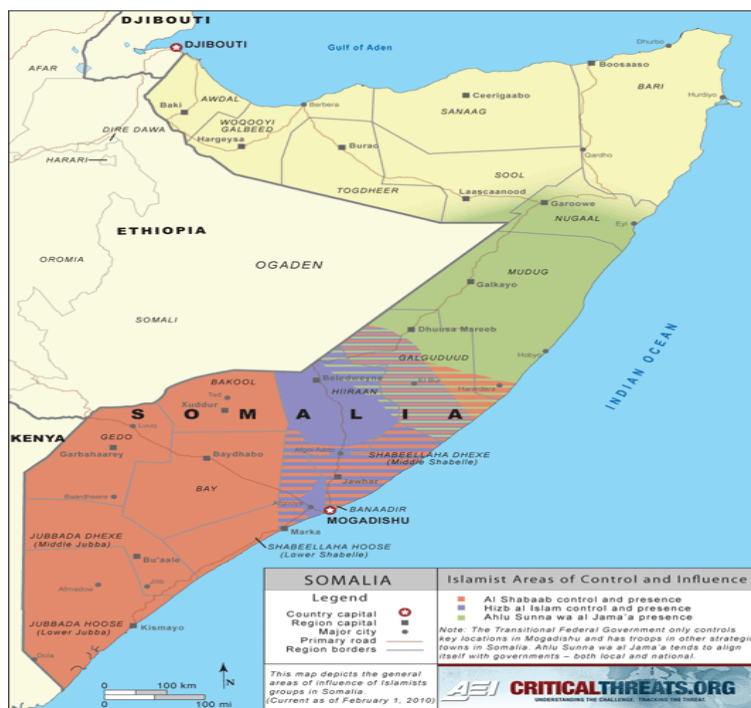
Map 13.15. Political Map of Somalia

The coup d'état of 1969 which brought Mohamed Siad Bare to power was just signalling the instability that such a vast nation was going to experience for a very long time if adequate strategic measures in peace building and power sharing was not established between the Merchant-War Lords who had been transformed during the colonial occupation into satraps and impoverished Political-War Lords.

The overthrow of the pro-American Siad Bare in 1991 marked the second twenty-two years full cycle of changing the guards and the riders of the Somalian War-Lords according to the ancient style. Siad Bare's tactics in looking for a common national scape goat, by trying to whip up war sentiments against Ethiopia as an invader, in the disputed Ethiopian-Somali-Ogaden resourceful land, did not gain him the followers and support he needed so badly. His plea for help from other countries went unheeded and he eventually lost the fight and claims. Even though some nationalist spirit of self-determination had been spanning in (Fongot Kinni, 1976) Ethiopia for a

“Greater Somalia,” from some renegade Somali War Lords and leaders of Somali extraction within Ethiopia, it was evident that the clarion call could not come from someone like Siad Bare, who was considered an unwanted sell out and a turn coat for the American cause, in a country where America was becoming more and more unpopular.

By 1991 the Somali people and the various War-Lording factions were agitating for more power sharing, which was not forth coming. Wherefore it cannot be interpreted as some analysts have tried to do that nobody was willing to step up on the podium to lead the country. Somalia is not a country that can be ruled by any one man without a true power sharing process and structure set in place.



Map 13.16. Somalia Map Showing the Various Islamist Rebels Occupied Zones

The fighting that has been going on for two decades now led by the various War-Lording factions against Ethiopia and the United States is basically due to the lack of compromise in the power sharing process on the one hand; and due to the fact that the United States as usual wants to impose a leader he is comfortable with, just as Ethiopia does not want a radical Islamic Arab-friendly leader on the other hand.

This can explain why Ethiopia has declared war on Somalia on the pretext to protect itself. And the United States has said it is staging targeted attacks on what he pretexts to be Terrorist havens of Al-Qaeda operating in Somalia. This crackdown from Ethiopia and the United States is going on despite the fact that effort is being made by Somalians to broker peace through groups like the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism – ARPCT - and the Islamic Courts Union – ICU - who are fighting for power sharing in Somalia.

Apart from the war that has devastated and laid waste the country, killing approximately 500,000 since the early 1990s, the draught and hunger has also taken its toll on the 7.5 million people living in the country. This has contributed to the death toll of close to 35% of all children born in Somalia who die before they are five years old due to disease and dehydration. Somalia is blessed because it has one of lowest HIV infection rates in Africa. Somalia was among those many countries which suffered from the effects of the Indian Ocean Tsunami natural disaster in 2004. The toll stood at an estimated casualty in the thousands of homeless people, and 300 dead in the aftermath.

Under the auspices of the African Union, a peace agreement was signed in 2006 to end the civil war that had ravaged and laid waste the entire country of Somalia. There after it did not take long for the new government to be immediately threatened by further violence because the War-Lording factions were not quite in accord on how to share power.

This is how the Transitional Federal Government was therefore formed to include all the War-Lording factions to pre-empt any further conflict. The African Union intervened by sending peace keeping troops to Mogadishu in March 2007. The first batch was programmed to be made up of 8,000 strong men. The Transitional Federal Government became the officially and internationally recognised government of Somalia with seat at the African Union.

But the Somalian Ismailist factions, who are minority in a country where eighty per cent of the population are Suni Muslims, were not quite satisfied with the power sharing deal and were attempting to topple the Transitional Federal Government. They were supported by Eritrea and Yemen. The African Union called on the Security Council to impose sanctions on Eritrea. Eritrea immediately withdrew its Ambassadors to the African Union on 20th November 2009.

The Security Council followed up by passing a United Nations Security Council Resolution 1907, on 22 December 2009, which imposed an arms embargo on Eritrea, a travel ban on Eritrean leaders, and a freeze of assets of

Eritrean officials. This UNSCR 1907 was strongly criticised by Eritrea who had to bear the blunt of the severe sanctions. The sanctions however were effective and Eritrea stopped its destabilising role in Somalia and toed the line with the African Union's peace objectives in Somalia. This led to Eritrea re-establishing its mission to the African Union at Addis Ababa, in January 2011.

14.12. The African Union and the Kenyan Political Crisis of Governance

The post-presidential elections of Kenya in 2007 sparked off a series of violence which developed into a political crisis that erupted into some kind of ethnic cleansing. The main ethnic factions of the Kikuyu followers of Mwai Kibaki and the Luo followers of Raila Odinga were at logger heads for equitable power sharing and national resource distribution. According to the updated report by the Applied Engineering and Technology Directorate – AETD (AEDT, 1 Jan, 2009) more than 100 people were killed on the first day of the elections riot in Kenya, as it testified that:

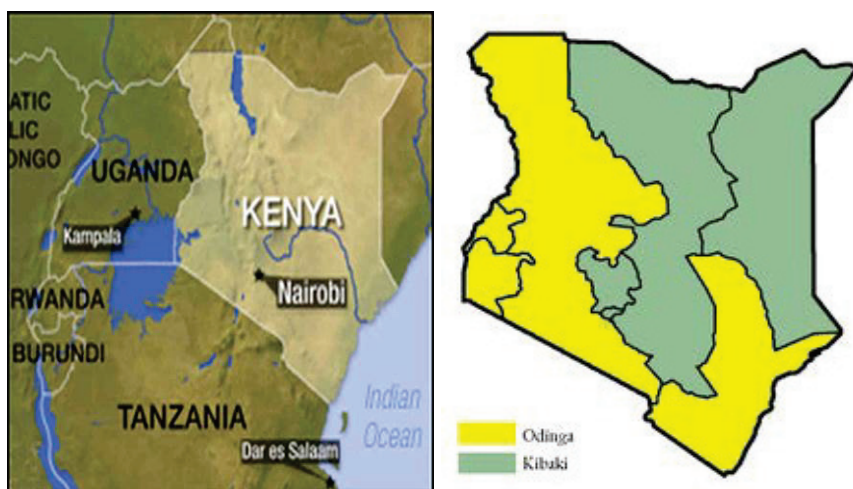
“More than 100 dead in Kenya riots...Kenyan police battled protesters in blazing slums on Monday after disputed elections returned President Mwai Kibaki to power and triggered turmoil believed to have killed more than 100 people. Riots convulsed pockets of the nation, from opposition strongholds in the west near the border with Uganda - where at least 300 Kenyans fled - to Nairobi's shanty-towns and the port of Mombasa on the Indian Ocean coast. At least 123 people have been killed in cities and town, mostly in clashes with the police, although ethnic violence between supporters of the president and his defeated rival have also been a factor. The violence threatens to deter investors from east Africa's largest economy and damage Kenya's reputation as an oasis of relative stability in a volatile and war-scarred region...”

But other factors marked the insurgence of violence that spewed out to degenerate into ethnic hatred and reprisals.

As Najum Mushtaq (2008) well asserts, there is more to Kenya's post-election violence than the bungled vote count and the so-called trans-ethnic (tribal) violence; insisting that one should look for the root-cause of the unrest elsewhere, as the protest degenerated into organized ethnic violence in the Rift Valley towns and countryside. Wherefore he cites Kofi Annan's observation when he insisted that:

“We must tackle the fundamental issues underlying the disturbances - like equitable distribution of resources - or else we will be back here again after three or four years,” former U.N. chief Kofi Annan told journalists in Nairobi's Serena Hotel

Sunday, after talking to survivors of the violence which has claimed over 1,000 lives and displaced some 250,000 people since the December election.”



Maps 13.16. & 17: Showing Kenya and The Area Occupied by The Opposition Raila Odinga Thugs and Mobs (in Yellow); and Those Occupied by Mwai Kibaki's Thugs and Supporters (in Blue)

It is very interesting to note that the post-election riots divided the country into two, the West controlled by Raila Odinga's supporters and rioters and the East by Mwai Kibaki's supporters and thugs.

The Kenyan post-electoral violence seemed to mark the beginning of the new kind of conflict disseminating the political risk that most African post-colonial countries will be experiencing as we progress in the post-modernist period. Kenya, because of its very inequitable distribution of the national resources, is creating the new kind of rural and urban poorest class of the poor, of the landless rural and urban nomads that the hyper capitalist system is producing. This analysis derives from the picture which the Danish Volunteer and Millicent Ogutu try to paint (Najum Mushtaq, 2008) all along with the persisting indicators of the violence:

"Its characterisation as a tribal enmity is simplistic - access to land, housing, and water are the real issues that appear in the guise of ethnicity and are triggered by political disputes,...There is an unmistakable class dimension to the turmoil in Kenyan society," the aid worker said, wishing to remain anonymous...Only one category of people had come out to protest against the electoral irregularities: the poorest of the poor, the jobless, and the landless. People from only one class are seen to be committing violence

and registering resentment against poll cheating...the only sites of trouble throughout the post-election spree of violence have been the slums of Kibera, Mathare, and other shantytowns. This pattern is visible also in other troubled regions, such as Kisumu in Odinga's home province of Nyanza, and in the Rift Valley towns of Eldoret, Molo, Nakuru, and Naivasha."

The Kenyan violence, from an observer's point of view is very indicative, as I have tried to assert above, of the new kinds of urban and rural conflicts and violence that will gradually overtake Africa. If no structural adjustment is carried out appropriately to stem the growth of the "Urban Nomads" and the poor of the poorest of the landless poor in the rural and urban areas; to preempt the political risk that post-modernist countries in Africa will be running; then the future is as very bleak as the accruing violence would be the order of the day, in the slums of the urban nomadic landless poor. The urban nomadic poorest class of the landless poor are increasingly generating the urban slums and vice-versa.

This class constitutes the "Stateless People" within the national sovereignty that denies them their basic rights as equal citizens of the nation. When the author visited Kenya in 2007 (Fongot Kinni, 2007) just before the presidential elections for a workshop on leadership at Naivasha in the rift-valley, it was obvious that just as there was a false note from uppity Kenyans at the conference about identity and land ownership, there was also glaring deprivation of the native Massai of their land and grazing rights from their Matri-patrimonial heritage. Even the lake which toponymically marked their ancestral matri-patrimonial heritage was denied them in favour of the Flower-gardening companies that exploited the water resources and the land resources to deprive the native Massai population who depended on land and water from Lake Naivasha for their cattle and sustainable livelihood. It was discovered that the rose-flower gardening company was polluting with fertilizers the Naivasha Lake waters on which the Massai cattle rearers depended for getting drinking water for their adjacent communities and for their cattle.

This can explain why these urban and rural nomadic poor are among the poorest of the poor "Stateless People" living in the "Kibera" stateless Urban-nomadic nation, who do not really think ethnicity, because they no longer belong to any. And when they attack their oppressors and deprivors of their basic human rights, they are not doing so out of ethnicity.

It might appear ethnic just because these disinherited poor of the poorest of the earth might originate from one ethnicity or just a few ethnicities; just as

their oppressors might also belong to one ethnicity of the ruling political class of the have-alls against the have-nots that are usually legion in Africa.



PHOTO EXHIBITION

The story of Kenya's post election violence through the lens of a photojournalist

Boniface Mwangi, an award winning Kenyan photographer, was the eye of Kenyans at the 2007-2008 post-election violence.

February 14 - 28, 2011

**Rutgers University, Paul Robeson Cultural Center
600 Bartholomew Road, Piscataway, NJ, Busch Campus**

Picha Mwangi is a reconciliation initiative seeking to engage the youth in finding lasting solutions to attaining justice and healing in Kenya. The exhibition includes a screening of two short films and discussions. Through photo exhibitions and audio-visual presentations, Picha Mwangi Initiative intends to create a platform for Kenyans in the Diaspora to see the images of the 2007 election violence and an opportunity to get involved in the Kenyan roadmap to reconciliation.




Photos 122, 123, 124, 125: Ryla Odinga with Supporters and Opposition Riot Groups :(Photo: Deadly: Violence has spread across Kenya in the wake of Mwai Kibaki's triumph in the presidential elections, Video: Death toll mounts in Kenya riots - ABC News) – Source – American Broadcasting Company – ABC – <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2007/12/30/violence-spreads-across-kenya-in-the-wake-of-mwai/1000066>

This is how I understand Ogulu and other IPS observers who talked to express their scepticism, following reconciliatory speeches made in the presence of Kofi Annan by Kibaki and Odinga outside Harambee House, the president's office, that any long-term solution could be found to solve the gaping economic disparity, tribe-based and ethnic-driven cronyism of the have-alls; and the blatant corruption that has eaten deep into the national fabric of Kenya.

Kenya is not the exception since there are other African countries in similar political dire straits of bad governance and the deprivation of the poor, in the Urban-nomadic Kaberas and the rural slums of plantation economies, and the building up of the politics of ethnic and social class inequalities, produced by the inequity of the distribution of the natural resources and wealth of the nation to favour the ruling political class or the ethnic class of have-alls.

In what he describes as the ethnic competition in Kenya by the various ethnicities to have access to and control of the country's resources as the source of violence, Aquiline Tarimo, S.J. (2008) in an article titled: Politicization of Ethnic Identities and the Common Good in Kenya, substantiates:

“Ethno-Political Competition, Discrimination, and Violence: Kenya is a multi-ethnic society, and many communities have lived in harmony for many years. In recent years, however, the dominant ethnic groups have been on the forefront in fighting for political power. This situation has resulted into fighting to control the state. The relatively less dominant communities have been playing the card of opportunism. Many ethnic groups supported the armed struggle for independence in hope that they could regain their stolen lands. This expectation did not become reality. The situation has fomented anger, resentment, lust for revenge, and aggressive competitiveness that has overlooked the common good of the entire country. Frustration among the poor, both in urban and rural areas, has created a growing tendency to use violence as a viable means to correct the situation. When violent reactions emerge, under the influence of ethno-political ideologies, tend to take the form of ethnocentrism, the ideology that animates the competition between ethnic groups. A section of the population was unhappy about the outcome of the election of December 2007, but, to a certain extent the occasion presented a chance to correct some of the historical wrongs committed against certain communities.¹ Injustice occurred in the area of land ownership, when land was confiscated from the indigenous people by British settlers and later retaken by politically powerful personalities after independence in 1963. Instead of returning the stolen lands to the original owners, the politically connected personalities benefited the occasion of the

departing white settlers to grab land, while relegating those who owned the land before the white settlers came to the category of the landless. Reactions of discontent have been revealed in the land clashes of 1992, 1997, and 2007. These clashes display the anger among those living in impoverished conditions. Others are also frustrated because of the deliberate delay in addressing certain problems haunting the society since independence. Ethno-political competition, which has been alive since independence, has finally degenerated into ethno-political competition, discrimination, and violence.² Ever since the flawed election triggered a wave of ethno-political violence “many people have been violently driven from their homes and many are now resettling in ethnically homogenous zones. Even some of the packed slums in certain cities have split along ethnic lines.”³ Ethnic demarcation and regionalism, as promoted by ethnic leaders, revolve around the practice of ethnic discrimination.”

This problem of ethnic discrimination is not only a monopoly of Kenya. It is very common in all parts of Africa where the Nation-State is made of an oligarchy of Ethnicity or Ethnicities that control the land resources and the entire economic and political power. The refusal by states to provide systems that are structured to facilitate equitable distribution of wealth, resources and facilities generate conflict like what we see rampant in Kenya. In this regard, Aquiline Tarimo, S.J. (2008) emphasizes that:

“The phenomenon of ethnic discrimination comes into play when each region is identified with a certain ethnic group, and whenever political misunderstandings emerge those who are identified as foreigners are always forced to go to their ancestral land. Macharia Gaitho presents the pattern and consequence of ethno-political competition, discrimination, and violence: ...We are our own perverse version of regionalism by forcing certain ethnic groups to leave certain regions exclusive to the supposedly indigenous communities. We are witnessing, on a massive scale, the forced movement of people back to their supposedly ancestral homelands. And this raises the very serious question of whether Kenya will ever continue to exist as a modern nation-state, or whether we will be going back to the pre-colonial stage of ethnic fiefdoms with no central authority. That is the consequence of politics based on ethnicity rather than any of the usual ideologies and principles that hold modern democracies together. Instead of evolving, most of the African democracies have regressed to produce ethnic leaders more intent on leading their people in warfare against rival communities...The political crisis, under the influence of ethnic rivalry and violence, has recently killed hundreds of people and destroyed property, including burning of houses. Such crisis has erupted due to the lack of peaceful means to address grievances. The condition has been aggravated by the lack of the rule of law and constitutional reform since independence. Ethno-political

violence is a deliberate political strategy by desperate groups intended to effect change in the political system that marginalizes them. The situation has emerged because of unequal distribution of land and other resources, unabated corruption at the national level, extreme poverty in urban slums and squatters, unemployment, and irresponsible leadership. The situation is combined with the political unwillingness to address structural injustice. The inability to go beyond the ethnic framework has intensified the climate of political crisis."

And so according to Aquiline Tarimo, S.J. (2008) it is pertinent that they raise these fundamental problems of governance and equitable redistribution of the natural resources and the national wealth plaguing Kenya like all African post-colonial states:

"Have you seen any middle-class person of any tribe shouting slogans against either Odinga or Kibaki?" asked Raphael Karanja, a radio journalist. "It is only the people who had a misplaced faith in the power of the ballot, and who genuinely believed that their vote can lead to a change of guard and better economic policies that might alleviate their basic problems of land, housing, and drinking water that have risen up in protest...Most of the protestors - in Nairobi's slums and other places - belong to the Luo and Kalenjin tribes while the majority of victims of the recent violence have been the Kikuyus. But beneath these simplistic tribal battle-lines lie the historic patterns of uneven resource distribution in Kenya...The biggest issue is that of land. "The state had showed a blatant bias in favour of one tribe at the expense of the rest at the time of independence when the land left behind by the British was to be distributed among the local people," says an economics professor at the University of Nairobi, who wishes to remain anonymous, as he is a government employee. Kikuyus bought much of the land in Kenya - even in non-Kikuyu regions - as they dominated the first administration of Jomo Kenyatta and were given preferential treatment in the award of loans for buying land...That resulted in Kikuyu families holding land in the midst of other tribes, especially in the fertile Rift Valley, the main region of turmoil in every wave of electoral violence that Kenya has seen since a multiparty system was introduced in 1992," the professor explained...The Dec. 2007 elections were not the first perceived to be rigged. They were not the first to lead to post-electoral violence. Similar spurts of tribal violence - mainly anti-Kikuyu - also took place in the run-up to the 1992 elections and, on a much larger scale, during and after the 1997 elections."

This is the reason why the conflicts arising in many African countries, like in Kenya, or in Zimbabwe, and probably in South Africa, cannot be swept away with the back of the hand as merely generated by ethnicity or by race

sentiments. This is because ethnicity or race has no real value except in terms of whether there is deprivation or enhancement of the individual or the community to which one interrelates or belongs.

This is what the African Union has to put up with and identify if it has to attain its objectives of continuing with its peace keeping role and leadership in Africa. The truth is simple. The African Union must develop strategies to attain the so-called Millennium Development Goals and may be the so-called NEPAD – New Partnership for Africa’s Development with regard to providing the basic life necessities to citizens of each country and the entire continent. How does the African Union put into practice the main problem of the distribution of the resources and the commonwealth of the continent to all its citizens and the respect of the Human rights and aspirations of its citizens?

There will be conflict in Africa as long as some categories of the population will be deprived of the resources of the land and there will be unequal distribution of the wealth and other resources: social, infrastructural, cultural, linguistic and political voice and decision, of the nation.

Aquilino Tarimo S.J. (2008) substantiates his arguments on ethnic violence and State responsibility of the Oligarchic Leadership that holds to power without caring for the interests of the entire populations that constitute the Nation-State. He proceeds to elaborate his point by saying:

“According to John Githongo, “the country’s leadership is responsible, not just the political leadership but also the cultural and religious leaders. Among them, there are those that have allowed their love of power to overwhelm the common good.”⁵ The phenomenon of ethno-political competition and violence is not limited to Kenya. It is also found in Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Ethiopia, and elsewhere within the continent of Africa. In order to address the problem we have to find ways of forming inclusive structures of the common good, wealth distribution, and political consensus. There will be no lasting peace unless “the country addresses the fundamental inequalities that turned neighbour against neighbour and ethnic group against ethnic group.”...Ethnic identity derives its foundation from combined memories of the past and common expectation. Many people have lived and continue to lead their lives within the framework of an ethnic group. When a person is in difficulties, it is normal for this person to call for help from the ethnic community to which he (she) belongs. In urban areas ethnic identity is appealed to when people are in need of financial support and political support. For many people ethnic identity stands as a symbol of communal solidarity and security. Ethnic identity, be it in rural or urban areas, remains a powerful force to reckon with, although it varies like temperature, from time to time, depending on prevailing political circumstances. It is a fluid concept, meaning different

things at different times and contexts. The nature and meaning of ethnic identity are difficult to grasp unless we relate them to the changing conditions of life. One may continue using old answers for new questions if he (she) does not pay attention to such connection. One has to consider cultural, socioeconomic, and political changes that have been taking place and how they have continued to fashion ethnic identities, loyalties, and interests. Ethnic identities, from the African perspective, assume a triple history: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. In the pre-colonial period, ethnic groups were more rural and homogeneous, and there was less competition between them for the scarce economic resources than it is today. In the pre-colonial period, observes John Lonsdale, there was a recognized art of living in a reasonably peaceful way without a state structure in the way it is understood today. Small ethnic groups, during the colonial period, were forced to merge.”

Most conflicts are generated because many African leaders do not quite grasp the true notions of what it takes to respect the fundamental Human Rights of their citizens and especially those they have rendered “Stateless and Homeless” through their greed for power and the privatization of the wealth of the nation. This is what Najum Mushtaq (2008) is alluding to when he reiterates that:

“Another big issue is that of housing and water in the localities where the poorest people live. The issue is directly related to corruption. “The gap between the few rich and the majority poor has widened so greatly over the last decade that even if a common Kenyan is able to raise resources and wants to build a proper house, he finds bureaucratic hurdles at every step which cannot be overcome without extra money for corrupt officials... (says Ogotu)... There are no middle class neighbourhoods in Nairobi. There are either slums, or posh, rich localities.... Under President Daniel Arap Moi’s and Kibaki’s governments, the rich have gotten super rich and adopted a culture of conspicuous consumption with big cars and bigger houses. On the other hand, the poor have been further impoverished and conspicuously so. The middle class has shrunk, with the very few moving up but most of them barely surviving the slide down into the economic and social abyss... The violence that has taken on tribal characteristics is in fact rooted in the widening class divisions between the rich and poor of the country.... The poor thought that democracy and elections would help them influence government policy. Odinga raised expectations by campaigning as the people’s candidate and a champion of the poor. He received votes across tribal divides... After the peaceful transition of power in 2002, most Kenyans actually had faith that they can bring about another change through their vote. Hence, the large turnout and the peaceful December elections... (says Ogotu)... That faith is irreparably dented. Raila shaking

hands with Kibaki is cosmetic and, at best, a momentary and tenuous truce. It won't change a thing for them. They'll be back on the street sooner or later."

One realizes that if the objective of the African Union were applied effectively this will go a long way to pre-empt the political crisis of governance and land distribution crisis Kenya, and South Africa are going through and which many other African countries in their suite will also undergo sooner or later due to the uncontrolled land-grabbing tactics by the have-alls against the have-nots of the continent.

But the African Union's policies of needs prioritisation seems to be more or less a kind of mouth wash to satisfy those who govern Africa against those they have been reduced to "Stateless and Homeless Peoples" and have-nots within the confinements of their so-called sovereignties.

This allegation seems founded when one listens to what Ambassador J. K. Shinkaiye, Chief of Staff, Bureau of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, (2006) at Addis Ababa, had to say in this regard:

"The African Union has prioritised the realization of human and peoples' social, economic, civil, cultural and political rights. This includes human and peoples' rights to peace, security, development and the right to participate in processes affecting their lives, through democratic channels and smooth elections. Overall, the Constitutive Act provides for nine principal organs, while making room for others that the Assembly of the Union may decide to establish later on."

But the political leaders of Kenya were not prepared to face the problems they have created since they hijacked and privatized the post-colonial government to create the opposing structures of the have-alls and the have-nots.

And unless these problems of social and economic injustices are properly solved there will not be effective peace and good governance in the country. This is what John O. Oucho (2007) is asking Kenyan governing leaders to do and I also ask the other African political leaders to follow suit:

"As Kenyans brace for normalcy following the recent post-election violence which engulfed Kenya in the first two months of 2008, they should be wary of undercurrents of the violence that have far-reaching implications for the country's future. Simply dangled "ethnic violence" by both Kenyan and international media, the violence that almost brought Kenya to a standstill after the 2007 general election is a manifestation of

longstanding issues which the country previously paid little attention to, and which it must address to avoid their recurrence and undesirable repercussions in future.”

This is the reason why the African Union must match its policy and talking with pro-action and walking the talk, with a more effective structural adjustment and reconstruction with the main objective of implementing the re-distribution of the country's natural resources and material artificial wealth to include the have-nots of the privatised State.

Wherefore it does not seem that State Security and Democracy is the major issue at stake; the redistribution of Africa's natural and material, artificial state resources and wealth is at the heart of the problem the African Union and other stakeholders in the New Partnership for Africa's Development must handle efficiently and effectively.

If the African Union would not like to run the political risk again of the upsurge of uncontrollable violence and conflict that underlies and undermines the development process of Africa, then the African Union must consider seriously its policy of good governance, redistribution of land resources and regional planning.

Wherefore, when the African Union (J. K. Shinkaiye, 2006) talks of the necessity of providing and creating a conducive environment for peace and security to reign in Africa, it should emphasise more on the equitable distribution of the resources and wealth of the nation, and less on democracy and good governance, because democracy and good governance would come when there would be equitable redistribution of the wealth of Africa to all its citizens, friends and enemies alike.

Actually the idea of democracy should be understood in this process of Amartya Sen who defines all Development as Freedom; where the individual and communities are given the freedom of choice and self-reliance for their capabilities building and enhancement in a sustainable manner.

Hence I would say that J. K. Shinkaiye is over belabouring the point here about creating an environment of peace and security in Africa, without insisting on equitable redistribution of the ill-gotten and ill-acquired wealth of the leaders of Africa and their cronies – families and friends, as well as its natural and material resources in all God-given shades, when he insists that:

“The democratic and good governance ethos embedded in the Constitutive Act (of the African Union) was reinforced by the need to create an environment of peace and security as an enabling condition for development and good governance. At the inception of the Union in 2002, the continent was ridden by a wave of conflicts in the Mano

River Union (embracing Sierra Leone, Guinea and Liberia) Cote d'Ivoire, Sudan, Somalia, Zimbabwe and the Central African Republic. The chaos crisis and political turmoil inspired by the conflicts threatened violence, anarchy and disorder. The AU explicitly recognized that the persistence of the conflict would undermine its broad agenda of democracy and development. Hence, it adopted a proactive approach to resolving these conflicts. The approach emphasized early response to developing conflict situations and a process of active mediation on a day to day basis with the instrument of special envoys and special representatives. The approach stressed comprehensive coverage so that conflicts are not isolated or treated with indifference. To further strengthen the peace and security framework of the continent, African leaders adopted the Protocol relating to the establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the Union which reinforced the scope and capability of the AU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution."

The insistence by J. K. Shinkaiye (2006) about the repatriation of all stolen African wealth and matri-patrimony would not be the panacea for the bad governance in Africa. Nor would it alleviate the poverty of the poorest of the landless and homeless poor, if equitable justice and redistribution of wealth is not made and branded the slogan and the catch-word for Africa's sustainable development. This is where I seem to differ just a little bit, even though I accept in toto the general vision, from J. K. Shinkaiye who insists:

"Let me also say that governance in Africa will be greatly enhanced if the EU meets it halfway on source issues that are of importance to it. The EU can be ambivalent on source governance issues; for example, the return of illegally acquired funds from Africa Located in Europe is not a priority. Our argument in Africa is that this should not be the case because if stolen, Africa funds are returned to Africa once they have been properly identified, it will discourage, corrupt African leaders who will most probably steal less! The same holds for the issue of stolen African artefacts."

True and urgent as it is that the European Union must come in half way in its efforts to promote good governance in Africa by returning the illegally acquired funds from Africa located in the Europe. The problem of good governance does not reside in returning stolen funds. The thief or the thieves must first of all be stopped or reformed morally from stealing.

Good governance sets in when there is moral rearmament and a moral structural adjustment policy transparency and non-corruption, backed up by freedom of choice and capabilities building of the citizens of every polity. Gangster and kleptocratic governments must be scraped and reformed. Where

there is not freedom of choice and capabilities building for citizens according to their contextualised needs, according to their contextualised eco-regional needs of their livelihoods enhancement and quality of life enhancement on the one hand; and socio-economic and political needs, cultural and brain-driven needs enhancement on the other hand; there will be no good governance and sustainable development.

This problem of equitable redistribution of Africa's wealth in land and natural and artificial resources to its people is very pertinent, not only to Kenya, but also to countries like Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia and other countries where the have-alls are just a small minority that cannot allow the trickle-down effect to run down effectively onto the have-nots of this massive continent with its fastest growing young population made up of very aggressive and highly demanding youths who want to participate fully in the creative innovative global economy.

The attainment of Africa's Millennium Development Goals is crucial to all stakeholders of governance and leadership of Africa to re-assess and re-orientate their policies, regarding how these seemingly overambitious MDGs could be attained. The basic structures must be set in place to facilitate the attainment of these MDGs. Even if it would entail the capacity building of the citizens, it is fundamentally essential that the redistribution of the common wealth and resources of Africa be equitably re-distributed.

Just as it is said in the African cultural philosophy of the Chámhá-Tàdkòn of Bà'ni-Nyòngá, that: “jèt bòé njó, nji bòé mbá,” “satisfaction begets responsibility, just as hunger begets madness.” This philosophical adage is always repeated as a warning to all parents who are the first managers of home governance and to all heads of polities when it comes to good governance that a leader cannot expect to have security and peace if he or she allows their children or citizens to go hungry.

In a typical African agrarian community food sufficiency is the priority in laying the foundation of all state security and peace-building capacity. When extrapolated to all levels of leadership management, it becomes very clear that one of the criteria for good leadership management, whether in the family, in the work place, or in governance: is the satisfaction of the livelihood needs of children, employees in a corporate society and citizens of a nation as common stakeholders of Commonwealth.

The African Union would therefore be concerned not just in attaining the Millennium Development Goals and the so-called New Partnership for Africa's Development Strategies. It would necessarily focus on a strategic plan and framework as well as the roadmap on how to sustainably manage and

redistribute Africa's wealth in natural and artificial resources and services, so as to raise the standards and the quality of life of its citizens.

This why the African Union's objectives as outlined by J. K. Shinkaiye, should be taken seriously so that they do not remain a dead manifesto used by politicians for another mouth gargle wash politics and talk-shopping as it is usually the case with the present African leaders.

Regarding the African Union's policy and objectives as far as the "Governance Challenges of African Countries" is concerned, J. K. Shinkaiye (2006) outlines the following prerogatives:

"The African Union is committed to assist its member states to build their capacity to realize its core principles and to fulfil their duty of effectively and timely accounting to their constituencies through the setting-up and enforcement of monitoring mechanisms and core operational values. More importantly, the search for effective popular participation leads the AU to capitalize on the promotion of adherence to principles of good governance, gender equality, and the rule of law and the involvement of civil society organizations. The AU has made a number of commitments in the area of governance. This include among others: the Durban Declaration on Elections, Governance and Democracy; the NEPAD Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance; the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Corruption; and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights Relating to the Rights of Women, just to name but these. It is worth mentioning that these decisions and commitments actually build on the legacy of the predecessor OAU that had adopted valuable instruments and decisions relating to human rights, democracy and governance."

If the African Union does not want to fail like the former Organisation of African Unity – OAU, which transformed itself into a kind of inconsequential talk-shop and a Club for the Corporate Class of African Autocratic Leaders who had specialized in privatizing the State and confiscating (Agondo Ochola, 2004) the Human Rights of their Citizens and reducing them to Stateless and landless People.

The African Union must set up its priorities right:

- Its first priority should focus on equitable land re-distribution and land use reforms, as well as on the equitable redistribution of the natural and artificial resources, services and wealth of the nation.
- Its second priority would focus on the sustainable management of the natural and the artificial material cultural resources and acquired wealth of the

continent so that the future generation shall not be deprived of these resources.

- When one considers the various reforms that have gone on so far in Kenya since the last presidential elections of 2007 that sparked off the violence and ethnic unrest, one realizes that some efforts have been made to set up more acceptable structures for good governance.

But one also realizes that not enough effort has been put in to restructure the socio-economic divide between the have-alls and the have-nots of the nation. And if it can be said that Kenya has regained its stability since the disputed presidential elections which degenerated into ethnic violence; it can also be affirmed that this stability would be short lived if more efficient measures are not put in place to assure the equitable redistribution of the country's natural resources, starting from the land, and material cultural wealth.

Despite the fact that the country's new constitution was put to a referendum to the Kenyans who voted with an overwhelming 67 per cent for its approval for the modification of the power of the President; this only goes to show that the Kenyan population is waiting for a more pro-active pragmatic constitution which will eventually narrow the gap between the rich landlords, the rich corporate society and the poor have-nots on the one hand; and the equitable redistribution of the country's resources with the poor on the other hand.

That explains how according to the African Union Report 2011, it is admitted that the Kenyan presidential election, and the violence surrounding it still persists as a symbol of Kenya's future implosion.

Kenya did not digest well the indictment of several high ranking Kenyan officials by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity committed after the presidential elections.

The political football involving the protagonists of the election violence and the setting up of a credibly clean local judicial system to try the perpetrators of the 2007-2008 post-election violence diminished the prospects of a deferral from the UN Security Council.

It was not certain that Kenya would guarantee that it would try the suspects for the International Criminal Court to consider a deferral to its municipal courts. The reason is that the appointment of the high members of the judiciary, including the Chief Justice, the Attorney General and the Director of Public Prosecutions has not been politically transparent.

This can explain why according to the ICC Report, (2010):

“... the prosecutor of the International Criminal Court declared that he was seeking the indictment of several high-ranking Kenyan politicians, including the finance minister and the former national police chief, for crimes against humanity in what he called an orchestrated campaign to displace, torture, persecute and kill civilians during the elections crisis in 2007 and early 2008.”

It would seem the indictment of the International Criminal Court will not go a long way to solve the fundamental causes of the 2007-2008 post-elections violence.

This is because in its very biased procedure the ICC handpicked those it intended to indict leaving the kingpins and initiators of the violence at large. One wonders why Raila Odinga and Mwai Kibaki, the initiators of the post-election violence, were not indicted in the same way as Oumar Bashir of Sudan for crimes against humanity.

Actually most fingers are pointing to Raila Odinga as the one who ignited the fire of violence after the Kenyan December Elections of 2007 which triggered the riots and the killings of thousands of innocent people. According to this report:

“Disorder and destruction continuing unchecked without an idea of when it would end. This was Kenya following the 2007 presidential elections. Incumbent President Mwai Kibaki was announced the winner on December 30; however, leading opposition candidate Raila Odinga claimed that ballots were rigged.^[4] Members of Odinga’s Luo tribe were infuriated, setting off decades-old tensions with Kibaki’s Kikuyu tribe... Much fighting saw angry Luos, who back defeated opposition leader Raila Odinga, targeting Kibaki’s ethnic Kikuyu group, Kenya’s largest and economically dominant. In the western town of Kisumu, a hotbed of opposition Luo support, 21 bodies lay in and around a hospital mortuary, witnesses said. Most had gunshot wounds. Mayhem eased, a senior security official said, after police began shooting looters. Water, food and fuel were in short supply, with insecurity paralysing transport and business. Some people took refuge in police stations, fearing more violence. At the Malaba border crossing into Uganda, more than 300 people were sheltering at a school after all the nearby hotels were filled to capacity.”

The double standards by the ICC are so glaringly flagrant. A crime against humanity is an indictable crime no matter how small, no matter who commits it.

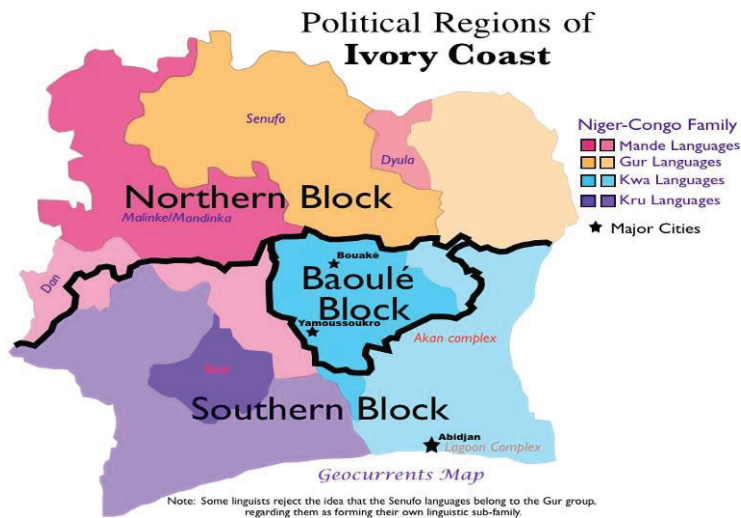
The Kenyan Government on its part has been dodging the true fundamental problem of addressing the causes of the domestic violence which

is the inequitable redistribution of the country’s resources and material wealth on the one hand; and the inequitable land distribution, which has rendered many Kenyans homeless, on the other hand.

Yet in October 2010, Kenya decided to find the scapegoat for its internal problems in the Shabab warring faction in Somalia. In an unprecedented move, Kenya sent 3,000 troops into Southern Somalia, as far as Kismayo, the Shabab stronghold along the Indian Ocean; with Kenyan officials accusing the Shabab of the many kidnappings in Kenya, whereas these are merely experienced bandits or pirates that take delight in kidnapping foreigners and demanding heavy ransoms in the millions of dollars.

14.13. The African Union and the Ivory Coast Political Crisis of Governance

The Ivory Coast political crisis engendered a series of political risks that has haunted the country and the African Union right from its inception in 2002. In 2002 Ivory Coast was split into two by a failed coup, allegedly organized by France and supported by France, which developed into a full scale rebellion against the government of Laurent Gbagbo. The rebel forces, under Guillaume Soro controlled the north and west of the country, while the Government National forces controlled the rest of the southern part of the country (see maps).



Map 13.18. Ivory Coast Civil Conflict Showing the Rebel Controlled North and the Government Controlled South

The African Union failed to act in an expedite manner to arbitrate in the conflict which later degenerated to a civil war. The first intervention of the African Union five years later in March 2007 struck a peace deal which led to power sharing between the forces of Laurent Gbagbo and those of Guillaume Soro. This was intended to help in paving the way towards unifying the war torn country. Guillaume Soro became the first Vice President of the Ivory Coast brokered coalition Government.

But the violence escalated after the presidential elections in 2010, where the incumbent President Laurent Gbagbo contested the Presidential elections of rigging in the north of the country, Alassane Ouattara's and Guillaume Soro's stronghold.

It was clear, from the reaction of the UN peace keeping forces and the French Military Based forces of intervention that the Western capitalist powers were out rightly in favour of Ouattara against Laurent Gbagbo's protests of rigging the elections in the north, Ouattara's and Guillaume Soro's stronghold. That there was already some bias on the part of the UN and the French who gave full support to Alassane Ouattara against Laurent Gbagbo could hardly be disputed for most African observers, especially Thabo Mbeki who was accused of favouring Laurent Gbagbo.

The role of the UN bias in Ivory Coast was attacked by former President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa (New African, June, 2011) in defence of President Lauren Gbagbo.



Map.13.19. Ivory Coast Map Showing Rebel-Held North and Government-Held South

This bias of the UN was very evident during the contested Presidential elections of 2010 when the UN Special Representative in Ivory Coast, hastily came out in full support of Allasane Ouattara, who is alleged to be a CIA as well as a French Secret Agent in Africa (Laurent Gbagbo, 2010), since, according to him, Allasane Ouattara, who is married to French woman also has the French nationality along with his children who are typically French.

When the Independent Electoral Commission was pressured by the UN and the French, as it was alleged, to unilaterally declare Alassane Ouattara the winner of the November 28, 2010 presidential elections, which was contested by the Constitutional Council who declared that there was rigging of the elections of the north and therefore gave victory to Laurent Gbagbo instead.

In a Political Anthropological standpoint, there should have been neutrality from the part of the UN and the French when there was protest about the running of the elections in the north during the second round of 28 November, 2010. During the first round it was clear that the incumbent President Laurent Gbagbo came out very neatly as the leading party in the elections; even in the northern region of Guillaume Soro's and Allasane Ouattara' controlled zone and stronghold. Laurent Gbagbo had won in some

constituencies in the north and overwhelmingly in the south and the rest of the country under government control.



Map 13.20. Location map of the buffer zone (ZDC, « zone de confiance ») created in Côte d'Ivoire, spring 2007.

It was very suspicious then that in the same north where he had won in certain strategic constituencies in the first round, he was disenfranchised in the second round due to the rigging which he complained off. Actually the accusation was that Laurent Gbagbo followers and supporters in the north were disenfranchised and prevented from taking part in the voting by gangs in support of Ouattara and Guillaume Soro.

This is the reason why it was not appropriate, in preventive diplomacy, for the UN to have hastily jumped to support the Unilateral Declaration of the Independent Electoral Commission, when there was still protest about the conduct of the elections in the north.

True enough the Independent Electoral Commission conducted the elections.

But in all fairness it did not have the right to declare the results of the elections when there was still protest. Actually the final declaration of the results of the elections resided on the Constitutional Council. Wherefore the Independent Electoral Commission was acting *ultra vires* in law.

This shows that it had a vested interest in the entire elections for which it had to show neutrality. And so the American UN put pressure to bear on the

“The United Nations is proud to have fulfilled its role in accordance with relevant international agreements. In the course of the crisis, some called for a recount. Yet the idea behind a recount was to pave the way for a ‘negotiated political solution’ that would lead to a power-sharing arrangement, a solution that President Thabo Mbeki seemed to favour – but which would have a dangerous precedent for the continent and undermined the principles of democracy. There should be zero tolerance for desperate acts by rulers seeking to stay in power against the will of the people.”

It is very clear from the United Nations Chief of Staff, Vijay, therefore he was acting according to instructions from the Americans who are desperate to export Democracy to Africa at their own imposition, and not what the African people want or what the Ivorians wanted. Because it was not for the American United Nations to decide what kind of Democracy the Ivorians wanted to have. It is the prerogative of Africans to decide whether they want the Democracy made in America or not.

It would seem that all what the UN was interested in was its vested interest in what it calls DEMOCRACY. But come to think of the ‘will of the people’, it would seem that seem Vijay Nambiar sees the people as a homogenous unit, whereas there were divergences as what this very DEMOCRACY he is so fond of entails for every camp.

Coming to talk of avoiding setting a precedent in Africa the way Vijay Nambiar did, was Ivory Coast going to be a precedent, when there was already power-sharing in Zimbabwe and Kenya?

Or does it mean that power-sharing would not have accomplished the same peaceful transition in Ivory-Coast the way it was doing in Zimbabwe and in Kenya, and in other African countries, to pre-empt the violent conflict and ethnic cleansing that was going on in many parts of Africa and which was then and still is now going on in the Ivory Coast under Ouattara’s regime, where Laurent Gbagbo’s people and staunch supporters are being systematically hunted down, assassinated and imprisoned. Why does the UN and America keep silent when the same process is going on in other parts of Africa?

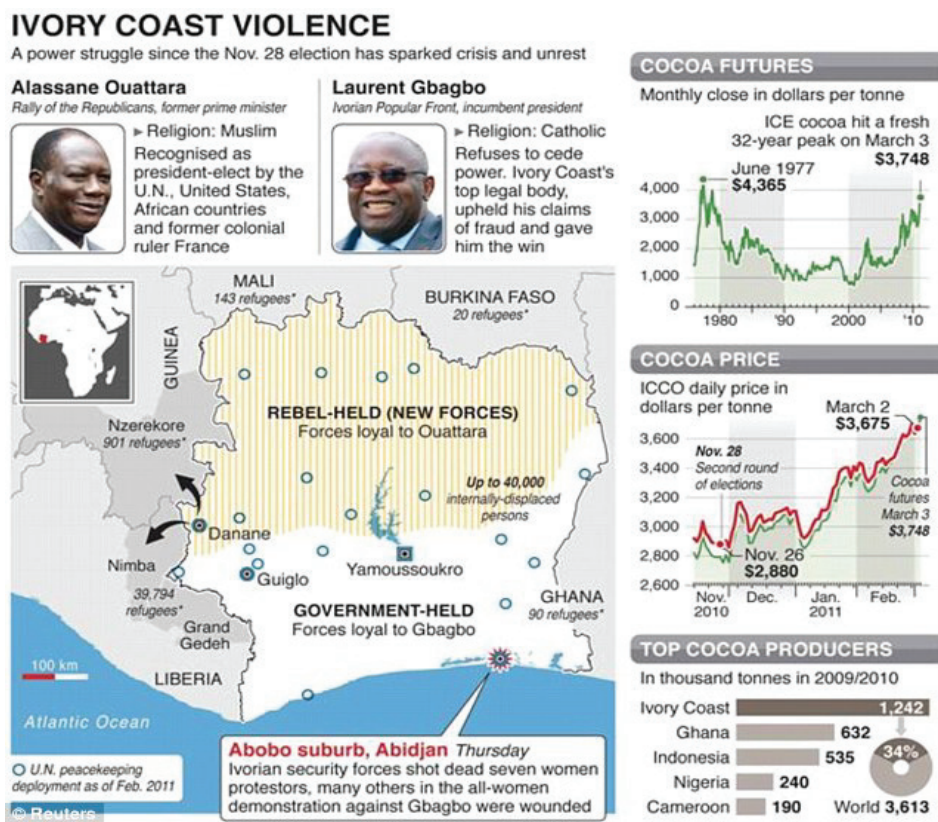
According to President Thabo Mbeki, (Vijay, Nambiar, 2011) “...the crisis confirms the marginalisation of the African Union” by the UN and their followers whose agenda in Africa is to dictate their wishes for Africa and not to care of what the African people want.

The democracy the American-driven UN and the Western Powers want to impose in Ivory Coast and in Africa is a democracy according to their Western lenses and corporate interest in Africa.

The African Union could be blamed for the failure of the mediation and arbitration because it did not respect the procedure for mediation, according to International Law principles and procedures which insists on the neutrality of the mediators.

The team that was selected to mediate consisted of persons who had vested interest in the Ivory Coast political affairs.

President Campaore of Burkina Faso was rejected in the first peace mission because Alassane Ouattara is also Burkinabe by his father, a situation which first disqualified him to assume the biased Ivory Coast nationality which recognises only the patrimonial heritage instead of both the matri-patrimonial heritage of citizens.



Map 13.21. The Civil War Of Ivory Coast And Its Impact on Population Movement And The Price of Cocoa

As for Raila Odinga the Prime Minister of Kenya, he was identified by most Kenyans, especially the Kikuyus, as a pro-active protagonist in the Kenyan post-presidential-election conflict which not only tore Kenya apart,

but disrupted into ethnic violence and genocide sponsored by his greed for power. Just like his father during the time of Jomo Kenyatta, when his father Odinga Odinga promoted ethnic politics in Kenya; he was accused by all Kikuyus as the one who started the ethnic riots after the incumbent Mwai Kibaki was declared winner of the 2010 elections.

If he was not an ambitious power monger like his father, why did he not go the rightful manner by appealing to the courts instead of causing the electoral riots and killings of Kikuyus which was later transformed into ethnic cleansing?

Is it not a shame and very dishonest that the person who started the riots and the murder of Kikuyu people was left alone and instead Uhuru Kenyatta was framed up by Western Powers backed by their international media as the one who formulated the riots and killings which erupted after the elections? Instead of targeting Mwai Kibaki in whose favour the election victory was announced, Uhuru Kenyatta was falsely accused by trumped up evidence by the very biased and bogus International Criminal Court of the Hague which is only targeting Africans for War Crimes, while George Bush and his Western acolytes are enjoying good time in Malawi and parts of the free world? It is understood that the Western Powers and their corrupt media targeted Uhuru Kenyatta, because they knew that he was going to become the strongest candidate after Mwai Kibaki to win the next Presidential elections after Mwai Kibaki, and not their corrupt candidate Raila Odinga, whom many accused to have been bought over to become a CIA agent of the American strategy to recolonise Africa.

But Raila Odinga forgot that he was benefitting from the same concession that was made by Thabo Mbeki for the Zimbabwe solution of Power-Sharing and saving Africa from bloodshed, ethnic cleansing and genocides.

If the Luo were not brought into the centre to participate in the politics of power-sharing, would not Raila Odinga have continued with the ethnic cleansing of the Kikuyu to finish what his father left undone, just to get to power?

But Africa, with its ethnic diversity and larger ethnic groups which can always dominate when it comes to this American Democracy of One-Man-One-Woman-One-Vote-driven politics, is condemned to negotiate more for Power-Sharing Democracy than for this kind of Autocratic Democracy where one larger Ethnicity can dominate the other minorities for ages as is the case in most African countries today with its great ethnic nations that are still classified derogatorily by Western Powers as “Tribes”. For instance, Kenya with 44.35 Million people and the Kikuyu-Nation 9 Million people, or the

Yorubas with 50 Million people, or the Igbos with 40 Million people, or the Hausa with about 70 Million people are still called “Tribes”; while Norway, Sweden, Finland, with averagely 7 Million people, or France, Great Britain, Italy, Germany and Spain with averagely 65 Million people are called “Nations”. Even Ethnic-Nations like the Effiks or the Ibibios of Nigeria make up to over 10 to 15 Million people, much larger than some of the Nations of Europe like Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and you name them. The European Union is very vibrant with its own Ethnic-Nations Federation and Ethnic Power-Sharing system; yet at the same time the European Union and America are ignoring the Power-Sharing Plan for Africa’s Multi-Ethnic-Nations put forward by the erudite Statesman Thabo Mbeki, calling it backward, to propose only the Cow-Boy Western-Ideologically-driven Autocratic Repressive Democracy in Africa.

This consideration of the Mbekian Power-Sharing Programme for Africa’s Ethnic-Nations is backed up by another erudite African analyst with an anthropological mind-set, Francis M. Deng who, in an article (1997) titled: Ethnicity: An African Predicament, elaborates and argues that:

“Ethnicity is more than skin color or physical characteristics, more than language, song, and dance. It is the embodiment of values, institutions, and patterns of behavior, a composite whole representing a people’s historical experience, aspirations, and world view. Deprive a people of their ethnicity, their culture, and you deprive them of their sense of direction or purpose. Traditionally, African societies and even states functioned through an elaborate system based on the family, the lineage, the clan, the tribe, and ultimately a confederation of groups with ethnic, cultural, and linguistic characteristics in common. These were the units of social, economic, and political organizations and inter-communal relations. In the process of colonial state-formation, groups were divided or brought together with little or no regard to their common characteristics or distinctive attributes. They were placed in new administrative frameworks, governed by new values, new institutions, and new operational principles and techniques. The autonomous local outlook of the old order was replaced by the control mechanisms of the state, in which the ultimate authority was an outsider, a foreigner. This mechanism functioned through the centralization of power, which ultimately rested on police and military force, the tools of authoritarian rule. This crude force was, however, softened by making use of traditional leaders as extended arms of state control over the tribes or the local communities, giving this externally imposed system a semblance of legitimacy for the masses. Adding to this appearance of legitimacy was the introduction of a welfare system by which the state provided meager social services and limited development opportunities to privileged sectors. National resources were otherwise extracted and exported as raw materials to

feed the metropolitan industries of the colonial masters. This new system undermined the people's indigenous system, which provided them with the means for pursuing their modest but sustainable life objectives, and replaced it with centrally controlled resources that were in short supply and subject to severely competitive demands. Development was conceived as a means of receiving basic services from the state, rather than as a process of growth and collective accumulation of wealth that could in turn be invested in further growth. The localized, broad-based, low-risk, self-sustaining subsistence activities gave way to high-risk, stratifying competition for state power and scarce resources, a zero-sum conflict of identities based on tribalism or ethnicity. Independence removed the common enemy, the colonial oppressor, but actually sharpened the conflict over centralized power and control over national resources."

Francis M. Deng goes further to caution that if African modern post-colonial states will continue to insist on maintain the colonial status quo of the Nation-State and its indivisibility, just as I would add that in maintaining what I call the Cow-Boy Democracy whereby the strong man and the more numerical ethnicity continues to lord it over the minority ethnicities, then Africa is heading for more conflict in the future. Listen to his analysis:

"The only sustainable unity is that based on mutual understanding and agreement. Unfortunately, the normative framework for national unity in modern Africa is not the result of consensus. Except for post-apartheid South Africa, Africans won their independence without negotiating an internal social contract that would win and sustain national consensus. The constitutions for independence were laden with idealistic principles developed outside the continent. The regimes built on them lacked legitimacy and in most cases were soon overthrown with no remorse or regrets from the public. But these upheavals involved only a rotation of like-minded elites, or worse, military dictators, intent on occupying the seat of power vacated by the colonial masters. Such leaders soon became their colonial masters' images. At the moment, for the overwhelming majority of African countries the quest for unity underscores the intensity of disunity. As long as the Africans avoid confronting the issue of ethnicity and fail to develop norms and means for managing diversity within the framework of unity, peace and stability will continue to elude the pluralistic state."

As for Goodluck Jonathan, the ECOWAS Chair and interim President of Nigeria, he was very anxious to fortify his presidential election candidacy, than in the case of eventual power-sharing in Ivory-Coast.

If the African Union had stuck tied to the seasoned statesman and diplomat, Thabo Mbeki, the former President of South Africa, its peacekeeping mission and arbitration would have yielded fruit.

But the African Union did not continue to involve Thabo Mbeki, due to pressure from America and the West as it was alleged. Thabo Mbeki has bitterly criticized the American-driven UN peace mission in the Ivory Coast, because the UN, and by interposition USA, was calling the shots not only in Ivory Coast but in Africa.

That is why Laurent Gbagbo was insistent (Voice of America, 10 January, 20 February 2011) that he would recognise any decision made by the African Union's peace keeping mission only if they would recognise the constitutional rights of the Ivory Coast.

The Western Powers and the Western controlled UN would not have had their way so easily to support their corporate interest in Africa had the AU not been so weak and very compromising.

The protection of the Constitutionality of African countries is what the African Union has set as one of its priorities.

Yet it was not very keen in protecting this priority in Ivory Coast. Is that not very strange, especially when it knew that the political and humanitarian risk that Ivory Coast presented was too high to take chances and play with the lives of millions of Africans killed, murdered, injured and rendered homeless to become refugees in the name of DEMOCRACY by the contending parties without exception? Had the African Union stood its ground, Laurent Gbagbo would not have become the scape goat as the trouble shooter, when Guillaume Soro and Allasane Ouattara go scot free of "war crimes and crimes against humanity".

Yet the African Union intervened in Togo and Mauritania to uphold Constitutionality. Why not in Ivory Coast? This is the question every political anthropologist in Africa would pose for a very long time. And Africa would be the loser if it allows its politics to be controlled by the whims and caprices of the American and Western Democracy.

The Right to life is Human Rights and more precious than the ethnic-cleansing and the Ethnic-Autocracy Democracy America is proposing for Africa. America can practice the new form of "Ethnic-Cleansing" Democracy, called majority rule, or democracy devoid of notions of ethnicity because it killed almost all the First Nation People's Ethnicities and destroyed ethnicity in America. Wherefore all immigrants in America have no ethnic base and so they can talk of "Wall-mart" and "Super-Bowl" Democracies because they have lost the idea of ethnicity and identity. But the truth remains that America

is still struggling with its new ethnicities of Black and Chicanos who constitute the new minorities and underprivileged of America today.

14.14. The African Union and the Togo Political Crisis of Governance

At the sudden death of Gnassingbe Eyadema, President of the Republic of Togo, on 5 February 2005, the naming of Faure Gnassingbe Eyadema as the rightful successor of his father who had ruled for over 35 years, was described by the African Union as a military coup d'état to the Constitution of the country.

According to Togo's Constitution, at the death of the President, the Speaker of the House of Parliament succeeds to organize the elections in at least within 60 days of taking office after the death of the President.

By this clause of protecting the Constitutionality of States of the African Union, the African Union forced Faure Gnassingbe Eyadema to hold elections to choose a new President for Togo within 60 days in office. With all this charade of upholding Constitutionality, where eventually there has been none, to come to think of it for over thirty five years, is not just like making a mockery of the lives of people for mere face value principles of DEMOCRACY, when all that is left of life is a hollow pumpkin full of nothing but political washy talk and risk.

That is why the allegations of heavy political charade and fraud for what was called an democratic elections of 5 May 2005, was nothing but one of those 'hand-washing' rituals the African Union might have been forced to condone political injustice and the abuses of people's rights that have been going on unchecked in the name of upholding DEMOCRACY.

And the West is very complacent with these face powder DEMOCRACIES manufactured in Africa with the help of Western corporate stakeholders for over 50 years of independence, which gives them the clear conscience to help Africans underdeveloped Africa, in their bid to promote the Western capitalist economy.

The report from the delegation of the World Council of Churches reveals this charade of a Constitutional defence and the upholding of this mouth wash DEMOCRACY at all cost.

In a letter to the Chairperson of the African Union, President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, (WCC Document, 21/04/2005), the position of the World Council of Churches was made very clear, concerning the maintenance of the Constitutionality and DEMOCRACY of Togo at all cost:

“The Council shares this concern because it is difficult, if not impossible, to organize free and fair elections within six weeks in a country not known for its democratic culture. The ecumenical delegation in its report states: “The time-scale determined for the forthcoming presidential elections is technically too short to be able to inspire the necessary trust and transparency and results acceptable to all.” We have also received disturbing reports about clashes during the weekend between government and opposition supporters in Lomé where a number of people were killed and wounded.”

When one analyses the moves taken by the African Union after the death of President Gnassingbe Eyadema on February 5, 2005, and his succession by his son Faure Gnassingbe Eyadema, one realizes that the outright condemnation of Togo was not backed up by any serious sanctions and pressure put to bear on Togo.

This could be due to the fact the African Union lacks well thought out and consistent policy framework that can always be applied whenever there are crisis of governance like in the case of Togo or Cote d'Ivoire and others. These inconsistencies become evident in crisis situations like in the case of Togo where the following shortcomings were noted:

- The African Union's Peace and Security Council which was scheduled to meet and consider further sanctions against the Togolese government was not very consistent in its demands for democracy.
- The reason for the failure of the African Union's Peace and Security Council in its policies and decisions is that it tends always to be reactive instead of being pro-active.
- It would seem therefore that the African Union has never strategized and worked to foster democracy in Africa by pro-actively and pre-emptively sensitising and sanctioning African countries that commit abuses of Human Rights of its citizens.
- Instead they wait only when there is political crisis and political risk in state management and governance before reacting and making policies or sanctions which never go a long way to solving Africa's problems of abuses of Human Rights and Freedoms which are the basis of all DEMOCRATIC growth and governance.
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Map 13.22. Political Map of Togo

Hence, when a country like Togo, finds itself promoting the autocratic governance system of one man's rule, or say again like in Gabon where the son of an autocrat succeeds the father after over 30 years of reign, to set up the same face powder DEMOCRACY Africa is tired of, then there can never be envisaged any long term change, no matter the ad hoc policies of sanctions levied against such notorious states and governments in Africa.

That is why the statement by an African Union Diplomat that Togo, according to African Union Report, Addis Ababa, (Kenya, February 24 2005 12:17) was seen as a test case for the African Union, was a blatant over-statement.

The statement from the African Diplomat on Togo as a test case is one of those gargle mouth wash African Diplomats are often fund of spewing around without much clout and material value when it comes to address Africa's poor systems of governance and inaccountability.

This accounts to a situation where mis-governance, just like human rights abuses, is never pro-actively addressed by the African Union or by its Peace and Security Council.

Hence the African Union Diplomat could feel no qualms of conscience to make careless and empty statements as:

“The African Union, modelled on the United Nations Security Council, is likely to support measures similar to those taken by the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas), which at the weekend suspended Togo’s membership, imposed an arms embargo on Lome and recalled ambassadors to the country... It will be a question of examining the situation in Togo in comparison with the latest developments with the possibility of imposing sanctions if necessary...The idea is initially to reinforce the sanctions taken by Ecowas by extending their application to all AU member states...”

To show how hollow this statement rang and how ineffective it was for Gnassingbe Faure Eyadema is the fact that Togo, despite the so-called sanctions by ECOWAS, did not feel an inch perturbed, and went about its “autocratic democracy” in the same manner Gnassingbe Eyadema the father had ruled Togo for over 35 years.

When one realizes these kinds of statements do not hold any water, and are not value driven, one begins to wonder what the diplomacy of the African Union is all about; when underneath all this charade, like in the case of Togo and Faure Gnassingbe Eyadema, who at 39 took the baton of power from his father and was networking in Gabon for talks with President Omar Bongo Ondimba, the veteran autocratic leader of French-speaking West and Central Africa who had ruled Gabon for almost 40 years.

This networking by Faure Gnassingbe Eyadema was going on while the crisis in governance was deepening over the Togolese army’s decision to appoint him president two days after the sudden death on February 5 of his father Gnassingbe Eyadema.

Even though Africa and the international world termed his accession to the presidency as a power grab, after the ruling party hastily adopted constitutional changes through Parliament to justify his illegal appointment, Faure Eyadema did not leave any stone unturned and any closed door unopened to get what he wanted like any spoiled child would; the way his father brought him up to believe that political power in Africa was more of royalty than derived from openly free and fair elections according to the rules of democracy.

Meanwhile the European Union was joining the United States in backing African Union and ECOWAS with its toothless sanctions in its efforts to restore the Constitutionality that never was.

Yet everybody including the African Union knew that all these talks about sanctions for restoration of CONSTITUTIONALITY and DEMOCRACY was nothing but a reactive mouthwash and face powder as testified by the

African Union official who stood by the empty threats and said: "...the organization could afford to remain silent on the matter without damaging its credibility."

From a political anthropological stand point it is clear that the "Talk-Shop" or the "Autocrats' Club" syndrome that the predecessor of the African Union was accused of has gotten hold of the leaders of the organization of the African Union. This came out very pertinently in the process of negotiating for a peaceful resolution for the Togolese affair by the African Union, when a controversy arose between the Chairperson of the African Union President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria, on the one hand; and the union's incumbent Secretary General, Alpha Oumar Konare, former President of Mali. As BBC well documented (BBC Sunday, 5 June, 2005, 08:22 GMT):

"The row between Chairman Olusegun Obasanjo, the Nigerian president, and Alpha Oumar Konare is the union's most public since its formation in 2002. It concerns who has the final say on Togo, which has been in turmoil since controversial elections in April. Obasanjo was reportedly angry he had not been consulted over the appointment of a special envoy... The row stems from the handling of Togo's crisis in the aftermath of its messy and badly-rigged elections. In May, West African heads of state met in Nigeria and, together with Togolese politicians, produced a plan for a government of national unity. It was the kind of African compromise the continent's leaders often deploy to defuse conflicts. Insiders say the Togolese opposition was preparing to accept the idea - and submit their nominee as prime minister - when the African Union announced former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda had been appointed the special envoy for Togo. President Obasanjo discovered this from the media and was furious that he had not been consulted. Refusing to become a rubber stamp chairman of the African Union, President Obasanjo mobilised West African heads of state and issued the rebuke to Mr Konare."

The row between President Olusegun Obasanjo, the ad hoc round robin chairperson, and Alpha Oumar Konare, the Secretary General, brings out the crack in the wall of the African Union, inherited from the Organisation of African Unity, where the Secretary General is not given any real powers to make policies and take decisions, especially in very crucial and urgent situations.

Even though the African Union is tailored more or less like the UN and the European Union, it would be urgent to give the Secretary General the leeway to make policies and take decisions that are for the interest of the Union and the continent as a whole. And bureaucracy should not be allowed

to bear and hinder the smooth and creative running of the African Union in the twenty-first century.

14.15. The African Union and the Mauritania Political Crisis of Governance

The Mauritanian coup d'état of August 3, 2005, raised another Constitutional problem for the African Union in the same manner the Togo Constitutional coup d'état had.

Mauritania was a country renowned for its many military coup d'états since Mocktar Ould Dada, the first president, was ousted from power on 10 July 1978. Mauritania then remained under military rule till 1992, when the first multi-party elections were organised following the referendum on a new constitution which was held on July 1991.

In 1984 another coup d'état brought Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya who remained in power and ran the show from 1984 to 2005. As usual, Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya manipulated the constitution by creating the Democratic and Social Republican Party – PRDS, and won the first democratically organised elections in 1992.

In 1997 he organized the second elections and won for the second time. On 8 June 2003 some current and former Army officers launched a bloody but unsuccessful coup attempt.

On 7 November 2003, the third presidential elections were organised in Mauritania. For the third time in a row President Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya was re-elected into power. Even though many opposition parties accused the government of fraudulent means to win the elections, African Union did not pay much attention to the allegations and went ahead to support Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya as the duly elected president under the pretext of respecting constitutionality.



Map 13.23. Political Map of Mauritania

But on 3 August 2005 President Maaouya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya was overthrown in a bloodless coup d'état. Actually, the military commanders led by Colonel Ely Ould Mohamed Vall, organized a successful bloodless coup d'état while President Taya was attending the funeral of King Fahd of Saudi Arabia. Colonel Vall established the ruling Military Council for Justice and Democracy to run the country. The council dissolved the Parliament and appointed a transitional government.

Meanwhile the Peace and Security Council (PSC) of the African Union, at its 36th Meeting, held on 4 August 2005, in a slipshod manner reviewed the situation in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania in light of the coup d'état that took place in that country on 3 August 2005. It was more interested in focusing on its policy on what it calls "Unconstitutional Changes of Government," adopted by the 35th ordinary of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Algiers, from 12 to 14 July 1999, and the Declaration on Unconstitutional Changes of Government adopted by the 36th ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Lomé, from 10 to 12 July 2000, as well as the relevant principles of the Constitutive Act of the African Union.

African Union reacted by suspending Mauritania's new government from all activities of the organisation.

Mauritania hurriedly tried to toe the line of 'Constitutionality' and held series of elections that began in November 2006 with a parliamentary vote and culminated 25 March 2007 with the second round of the presidential election. The military council appointed a transitional government and dissolved Parliament. In the make shift constitutional system, Mauritania held series of elections from 2006 to 2007 which saw the reconstitution of a new Parliament

and finally the election of a new president. Sidi Ould Cheikh Abdellahi was finally elected President, and took over power on 19 April 2007.

The African Union reacted by restoring the membership of Mauritania, all because of the restoration of her Constitutionality, no matter the irregularity in the power sharing process, no matter the majority of the rest of the population rendered stateless and homeless, and reduced to the poorest of the poor and have-nots.

That is why it did not take long for Mauritania to slip into another coup d'état on 6 August 2008 that overthrew the government elected in 2007 and seized power from Sidi Muhammad Ould Sheikh Abdellahi.

And the African Union once more suspended Mauritania from the organization and club of 'Constitutionalists'. As usual the new leader of Mauritania, General Abdelaziz, faced new threats of sanctions from the African Union and the European Union, with insistence that the "constitutional order" must return before the sanctions could be lifted.

And in the usual scenario of diplomatic talk shopping, the African Union condemned the military take over and followed with suspension and sanctions. This was followed by the United States, making a statement through its Acting Deputy Department Spokesman, Gordon Duguid, (March 26, 2009) who expressed the US diplomatic policy in these terms:

"The United States welcomes and supports the March 24 African Union Peace and Security Council's reaffirmation of its decision to impose targeted sanctions on civilian and military individuals that maintain the unconstitutional status quo in Mauritania. The coup d'état in Mauritania has proven to be a dangerous and destabilizing precedent for the continent and we join the African Union in its rejection of unconstitutional changes in government."

From the Mauritanian case study it is very evident the problem in Africa is not about establishing Constitutionality and make-shift democracy. It is obvious from the Mauritanian case that the problem emanates from the equitable sharing of power which will legitimize the constitutionality of the citizens who will also benefit from the equitable distribution of the national resources.

The African Union wants to act like America or Europe in her idea of Democracy and Constitutionality. If Constitutionality would lay the foundations of the Social Contract and embrace the will and aspirations of all the various stakeholders in the Social Contract, who are non-other the Ethnic Nations Africa is riddled with, then we cannot advocate to have a "Cow-Boy

Constitutionality” in Africa at the behest of America and its Western acolytes. We have to take cognisance of the different Ethnic Nations and see about the equitable power-sharing that must legitimise the so-called Constitution before we can talk of Constitutionality in the real sense of the word.

Even though the opposition rejected Libya’s and Quatar’s mediating efforts to force on a so-called constitutional election, President Abdulai Wad of Senegal succeeded to broker a deal for another makeshift ‘constitutionality’ and the ousted President Sidi Muhammad Ould Sheikh Abdellahi formally resigned. A transitional unity government was briefly put in place, and the coup-maker, General Abdelaziz once again got his way through a makeshift democratic mandate.

In the usual manner of Chameleon Constitutionality, General Muhamad Ould Abdelaziz camouflaged into a civilian President through the elections of 18 July 2009 whereby he came out victorious with 52% majority of votes cast.

Once more the ordinary Mauritians were swindled in the so-called democratic deal for the restoration of Constitutionality. Although the elections were heavily criticised by supporters of Abdellahi as a political ploy, African Union, Arab and African counties and the international community gave a deaf ear and supported the election of Abdelaziz. The opposition interpreted this international support for Abdelaziz as a slap in the face of the very Democracy the African Union wants to foster in Africa.

After the elections the African Union lifted all sanctions against Mauritania. Within a short time Abdelaziz had secured his position and garnered both internal and international support. But the influential parties and political personalities, notably the chairman of the Senate, Messaoud Ould Boulkheir, continued to oppose the new situation and continuously called for the resignation of Abdelaziz.

It is within this situation of mistrust and protest that the Mauritians following the Arab Spring agitations organised in February 2011 a series of demonstrations which rocked Nouakchott.

This was followed by a series of bombings that took place in the Nouakchott capital. These bombings were strongly condemned by the African Union which again made this window dressing announcement:

“The Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union (AU), Jean Ping, strongly condemns the recently attempted terrorist attack in Nouakchott which was successfully foiled and could have caused carnage. The Chairperson of the Commission congratulates the Mauritanian authorities for their vigilance and action that have made it possible to prevent a catastrophe, and reiterates AU’s support to Mauritania and

other Member States in their efforts to deal effectively with terrorism. This cowardly and criminal attempt demonstrates, once again, the need for sustained and coordinated efforts among African States, within the framework of relevant AU instruments, to prevent and combat the scourge of terrorism. The AU Commission reiterates its determination to spare no effort in enhancing the effectiveness of counter-terrorism cooperation across the continent.”

Once again, one realises that no amount of condemnation will change the African situation of counter violence by the population whose rights are denied by regimes that govern them and render them stateless; denying them their equitable rights to share in the construction of the nation and participate in the equitable redistribution of the national resources and common wealth of the nation.

14.16. The African Union and Libyan Political Crisis of Governance

Libya is one of those unfortunate countries that was caught up in the Arab Spring that swept across North African countries to the Middle East. It sparked off more as a reaction by the have-nots of these countries and the poorest of the poor stateless and jobless youths who have been denied a fair equitable share of the national wealth and resources.

It further took the dimension of the masses reclaiming their voices and freedoms and demanding for a democratic participation in the power-sharing process of State governance.

And it is true that when all the basic needs are satisfied and basic services provided, it shows that the country has come of age and is quite mature and developed to a high standard.

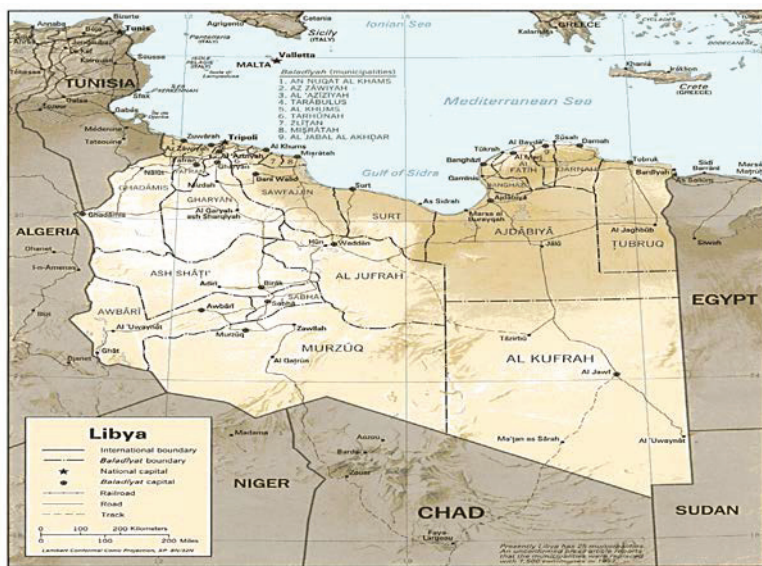
And usually the next demand which follows when people are provided with all they basically need is freedom, this luxury which is inborn in every person. This is state Libya had attained when the crisis started. And one would always say that President Muammar Gaddafi was not wise enough to read the writings on the wall to know that his children had come of age and also needed to have access to those “women” (Sigmund Freud, 1856-1939) called “Freedom” he had been monopolising and depriving them to share for too long. And it remains to see whether the patricide committed against the autocratic father who deprived his sons of these women called Freedom would finally repent of the patricide to create a new religion of Gaddafism.



Map 13.24. Logistics Map of Libya

Shishuwa Sishuwa (New African, 2011) painstaking tracing of the tortuous and difficult road map of Libya since its Independence on 24 December 1951, from Italy, its challenges to move from a feudally impoverished society under a corrupt monarch to a liberating charismatic leader, Muammar Gaddhaffi, who staged a bloodless coup d'état in 1969, which dethroned King Idris:

“For the next four decades, Libya’s fate was under the reign of the charismatic leader, Muammar Al Gathafi. During that span, he transformed the country from one of the world’s poorest states into one of the wealthiest (though the wealth was unevenly distributed), with a thriving economy and industry, accessible state-of-the-art medical facilities a working middle class, high standard of living, modern infrastructure, first class housing and sufficient water and sanitation. Over the decades he created a genuine welfare state, initiated afforestation of large areas of Libya, and lifted the status of Libya to a middle-income economy. But Al Gathafi’s long reign was also marred by extreme authoritarianism, the abolishment of constitutionalism, massive corruption, high levels of intolerance to criticism, forced subservience of the citizens, and frustration resulting from a lack of participation in the governance of their country and a dangerous absence of open mechanisms through which to air their grievances – deleterious traits which had partly inspired his own rise to power.”



Map 13.25. Political Map of Libya

What went wrong in Libya was the manner in which the leader of Libya reacted to the demands of his people in power sharing. It is true that Libya was the only country in entire North Africa and Middle East that had a standard of living and quality of life of its citizens even higher than Italy, Spain, Portugal and France.

Its standard of education was the highest for men and women in the entire Muslim and Arab Middle Eastern countries. Its job market and social security system was among the best in the world. There was no jobless Libyan. Many jobless people from other European and African countries sought refuge in Libya from joblessness. All Libyans enjoyed free medical treatment and health care which was among the best in the world.

But they lacked the basic Freedoms and some felt the fundamental Human Rights were abused by the governing class.

Libya's predicament could therefore be described as that of spoilt children who after they have been given everything materially desirable in this world, would still want more, especially their freedom to decide otherwise than the omnipresent and domineering father, if we have to borrow the imagery from Freud. The Freudian patricide was inevitable since the father was overbearing and did not allow for the liberty-needs of his children.

Actually in all political anthropological perspectives it is just a normal symptom that underlies all human psychology and social systems. Actually, in Freudian anthropological psychoanalysis, all children, no matter how much

they would be pampered, resent one thing: the all domineering male and father, who after their attainment of manhood becomes and is perceived more as a rival and an irritating intruder than a loving care-giver and protector. For in all psycho-analytic approach, children ravish their privacy when they are grown up and parents must know when to back off and give them their space.

And there comes a time when they will all demand their freedoms and if possible get rid of the domineering father, commit patricide, to ascertain their freedom, and the coming of age and to manhood.

This sounds very patriarchal since Freud tended to consider sexual deprivation and access to the women as the cause of the patricide that gave birth to the culpability complex that saw the birth of ritualized religion and commemoration of the deceased.

But here in Libya the bone of contention was freedom, freedom of choice of their development, as defined by Amartya Sen, as Shishuwa Sishuwa (New African, 2011) explains elaborately what lessons African leaders can learn from the demise of Muammar Al Gaddafi's death:

“First there is the fact that there is a limit to which leaders can take the governed for granted. People seek freedom regardless their standards of living. Freedom means more than having access to social services like education and health, water and sanitation. The Libyan rebellion was not a fight for economic equality but a fight for freedom, ethical values and social justice. Al Gathafi caged his own people for over 40 years and denied them the right to determine how their society should be governed. Although this is the first rebellion that succeeded in overthrowing Al Gathafi, there were actually more lower-scale agitations accompanying the entire duration of his rule, which showed that people were never tolerant of the violations of their leader, but simply unable to effect the changes they sought to bring into being. His removal from power (not his death) gives inspiration to troubled Africans on the continent who are struggling against similar injustices – authoritarianism and a lack of full participation in the governance of their countries.”

Well, in a Muslim context, the Freudian androgynous and patriarchal interpretation could also fit into the Libyan scenario.

The anthropological psychological as well as the psycho-analytical question now is whether after this patricide committed by the Libyans against the all powerful and domineering Patriot Gadhafi, the Libyans will turn around to repent in compunction of killing their domineering father and ritualise him and form a new “Religion” around this new Martyr of Pan-Africanism?

Will the Libyans succeed to rebuild the Libya NATO and the West have vandalized and destroyed to install the “Prince of DEMOCRACY” of the West? Come to think of the Boko-Haram syndrome sweeping over the Muslim world.

Has the Western imported democracy, with all its systems of liberal slave-driven capitalism, the sole exclusive structure and all the answers, as to predict and project, the right answers to Africa’s underdevelopment initiated by Europe (Walter Rodney, 1972) and its Western allies? Shishuwa Shishuwa (New African, 2011) seems to ask the same questions:

“Fourth, is the question of what really constitutes good governance and whether or not democracy should be exported? Does good governance consist only of periodical elections and institutional term limits, or rather of improved standards of living, good housing, high literacy and employment levels, among other factors, or perhaps it presupposes a radically different society based on social and economic relations that call into question all of the human development indicators we are so used to relying on? When a country’s adherence to democratic practices is undermined, shouldn’t the challenges of democratically ruling a poor and impoverished country - and there are many – be taken into consideration? After the assassination of Al Gathafi, U. S. President Barack Obama said: we gave him ample opportunity (to transition to democracy) and he wouldn’t do it.’ This raises the question: is it right to force-feed societies that refuse to swallow the pill of democracy at a rapid pace, determined by those who have arrogated themselves the power to feed other societies with their values, without taking into account the unique settings and existing variables of the host society, as we have witnessed in Libya? What really is democracy?”

The questions New African is asking raises other pertinent questions with regard to the justification given by President Barrack Obama and his acolytes of the Western Imperialist Powers that have decided to think and act for Africa, namely:

- Has the West the sole right to determine who a “dictator” is and the sole right to intervene in the internal affairs of States to initiate “Regime Change” to install Democracy?
- Does the West and Western Democracy have all the answers to human poverty, misery and deprivation from the equitable sharing of the resources and wealth of the nation, of the world? If yes;
- Why then has Africa that has been schooled for over a hundred years in the Western Academies of Democracy still Undemocratic, Underdeveloped and still the poorest of the poor with all the resources and endowments God

has provided Africa with; and which the West and America have exploited to kill, by exporting first her human resources into barbaric slavery; then after by exploiting her natural resource and minerals to build America and Europe?

- Why is it that instead of developing Africa and creating the industrial and job facilities in Africa, America, Canada has decided to proceed in establishing the mechanism of the “Brain Drain” and the “New Voluntary Slavery” of Africa through the “Diversity Lottery”?

Come to think of the rising attack with anathema to the injustices of the Wall-Street syndrome that is sweeping over the Western world. That explains why Shishuwa Shishuwa (New African, 2011) questions are very pertinent here as he goes on to elaborate on his ideas about the Libyan debacle when he tries to find out who really defines a dictator:

“The second lesson is in the form of a question: who is a ‘dictator’ and who defines him or her? Is it the ruled or the ‘international community’, or both? If it is the citizens, is it their sole preserve and duty to abolish and replace a dictatorial regime? Who arrogates the power to define the other a dictator? Accordingly, who arrogate the West the power to determine who is a dictator, and who is not, in Africa (and the rest of the world)? Where is the role of African agency in all this? Isn’t it possible that a fundamental policy or ideological differentiation between the West and an African government may lead the latter’s leader being labeled a ‘dictator’? What happens when both the people of Libya and the West define Al Gathafi as a ‘dictator’, but for different reasons? The people, because of Al Gathafi iron-clad rule and repression, and the West, because politically expedient at a certain moment to abandon Al Gathafi as an ally (which he was for most of his reign despite his anti-imperialist overtones), and have him replaced with someone who would serve as a more stable puppet; how do we discern between these contesting definitions in order to avoid having to accept or reject both?”

The African Union will go down in African history as an organisation that shot itself in the legs because of the manner in which it managed the Libyan political crisis.

When the Libyan civil unrest degenerated into a NATO-driven civil war, the African Union formed an ad hoc committee of five African Heads of State namely: Congolese President Sassou Nguesso, Malian President Ahmadou Toumani Touré, Mauritanian President Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, South African President Jacob Zuma, and Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. They were charged with brokering a truce for the NATO backed rebel faction that wanted to see Gadhafi captured dead or alive.

Every well thinking African was expecting an emergency session of the African Union inviting all the African Heads of State to decide on the NATO invasion of an African State, instead of allowing the African Union take the decision to handle the domestic conflict.

The African Union, despite all the stage play, showed cold feet and indecision as to how to handle the Libyan crisis. And so the sloppy manner in which the Libyan crisis and conflict was handled by the African Union has exposed its fragility and vulnerability as an organization for African Unity.

And it is clear again that the African Union, like the Organisation of African Unity, has failed woefully due to its blunder.

It is evident that the African Union, which was the initiative of Muammar Gaddafi, was a single handed sponsored and financed project by this African Patriot, whose enthusiasm frightened many other authoritarian African leaders who developed cold feet and felt President Muammar Gaddafi wanted to extend his rule over all Africa.

The fear was pertinent since Muammar Al Gaddafi had quit the Arab Union and even challenged the creation of the Mediterranean Union of States around the Mediterranean Sea, and instead decided to create a union of Libya and the Sub-Saharan African states. So, while he was hated by the Arab Union and Nicholas Sarkozy whose proposition for the Mediterranean States was thwarted by Muammar Gaddhafi, he was feared by the Sub-Saharan African states for his greater ambitions and foresight for Africa.

And so, as Shishuwa Shishuwa (New African, 2011) has remarked:

“Third, there is the fact that the Libyan question has exposed the vulnerability of Africa in so far as resolving its problems and resisting Western or external interventions are concerned. From Cape Town to Cairo, there was a deafening silence while NATO was busy abusing its mandate in Libya and while the deadly sounds of bazookas and AK47 rifles rang from Benghazi and Tripoli. No African country was heard publicly protesting against the carnage in Libya. The question is why?”

This is an indicator that the African Union is dead and Africa needs a new leadership that is very vocal and more pro-active in its vision and policy. The answer to Shishuwa Shishuwa’s question is simple.

African Union was silent because Africa is ruled by the likes of Muammar Gaddafi, when it deals either with Democracy or long term authoritarianism and corruption; and the summary abuses of Human Rights. Thus, for the benefit of the doubt, it could be hypothesized that may be African leaders

feared that they could be NATO's next target if they raised their voices. But that is the reasoning of a coward who does not know his rights.

But the African Union was wrong, because it was condoning the re-colonisation of Africa by any mightier force, under the pretext of restoring democracy. And as Shishuwa Shishuwa well remarks:

"The brutal killing of Libyan leader Muammar Al Gathafi at the hands of NATO-supported so-called rebels can only be described as one of the most defining stories of 2011. But with no major outcry coming from Africa and the new Libyan leaders trying to legitimize the killing and make the world believe that the country will be rebuilt from Western-inflicted ruins, many questions remain unanswered about the fall of the country, in this opinion piece."

The demise of the African Union came not only from its incapacity to stand as one full force behind Libya, but also from the fact that some African countries unilaterally supported the Security Council's decision to establish a no-fly-zone over Libya. Prominent among these were Botswana, Gabon, Zambia and others.

When the President of France, Nicholas Sarkozy, and the Prime Minister, John Cameron of Great Britain, and NATO forces finally decided to start bombing Libya in March 2011, the African Union did not condemn the invasion.

In August 2011 the Arab League voted unanimously to support NATO and the anti-Gaddafi National Transitional Council – NTC. Bahrain even supported by sending ammunition and military re-enforcements to the fighting rebel forces in the battle of Tripoli.

The African Union Peace and Security Council, on 26 August 2011, voted against the recognition of the NTC but this was not efficient since it did not condemn out rightly the invasion of NATO of Libya.

But the irony and inconsistency of the African Union was that after it had refused to recognize the anti-Gaddhaffi NTC, it turned around to negotiate for a government of unity.

There was also controversy as to the African Union's Peace and Security Council's decision of non-recognition, as some African States like Ethiopia, Nigeria and Rwanda and other African States were for the recognition of the NTC. Only countries like Algeria, Zimbabwe, and South Africa were vehemently against the recognition of the NTC. But the official recognition on 20 September 2010, of the National Transitional Council as the legitimate representative of Libya by the African Union's Peace and Security Council

only goes to show how flimsy and divided the organisation of the African Union has become.

The brutal killing of Gaddafi, and the immoral and unethical display of his mortal remains by the NATO backed rebels, and the approval of Barack Obama and the West, only go to confirm the death of the African Union and the recolonization of Africa by the West.

It also shows the death of African assertive patriotic leadership in the face of the rising imperialism of the West for the mineral and natural resources exploitation and recolonization of Africa.

14.17. What Blue-Print for the African Union for Resolving Conflicts in Africa?

In summarising all the conflicts of Africa which the African Union is facing, one realizes that they are not only ethnic, but essentially due to the lack of participation in the central government's policy and decision-making machinery, where individual or an oligarchic body of ethnicities monopolise power to the detriment of the minorities.

It also springs from the lack of equitable distribution of the resources and wealth of the nation which is monopolized and exploited by an oligarchic Ethnicity or Ethnicities thereby depriving the others from sharing equitably in the national wealth.

The solution for the African Union is simple: adopt very pro-active and pre-emptive policies and strategies for State management in such a manner that it can easily help to solve the problem of the hyper-centralisation of the Nation-State and the equitable distribution of the national wealth. The clause of the African Union allowing for direct intervention in case of the abuse of human rights of citizens of a Nation-State is quite good. But Africa cannot afford to wait till another Rwandasation before intervening.

That explains why I am more for the application of more pragmatic solutions to the African situation. Richard M. Deng proposes four models of Nation States in Africa with four models of solutions which I present to my readers:

“Models of Ethnic Configuration:

- *African governments have responded to the challenge in varying ways, ranging from pragmatic management to blind neglect and catastrophic mismanagement. The particular form the ethnic policies of a country take may in large measure be dictated by the characteristics of its identity configuration.*

1. *A few states in Africa enjoy a high degree of homogeneity or, at least, a relatively inconsequential diversity. Botswana, for example, reflects exemplary cohesiveness, democracy, stability, and sustained growth.*

2. *Most African countries, particularly those in West Africa (possibly excepting Nigeria), Kenya, and southern African countries (exclusive of South Africa), fall into a second category. These countries face significant ethnic pluralism that is nevertheless containable through an effective system of distribution that upholds the integrity and legitimacy of the state. The way the nations in this group perceive themselves is consonant with the self-perceptions of their component groups.*

3. *A third group of countries, including Zimbabwe, Namibia, and modern-day South Africa, suffers racial, ethnic, religious, or cultural divisions severe enough to require special arrangements to be mutually accommodating in an ambivalent form of unity in diversity. Burundi and Rwanda, as well as Sudan, are candidates for this category, though all also have aspects of the fourth, and final, category.*

4. *The fourth category, the zero-sum conflict situation, consists of states embroiled in acute crisis with no collective sense of identification, no shared values, and no common vision for the nation. The framework of the nation-state is perceived as an imposition by the colonial invaders, now perpetuated by the dominant group whose identity defines the national character. Such definition might be explicit, as in apartheid South Africa, where race and ethnicity were factors in allocating or denying the rights of citizenship, or in the Sudan, where the identification of the country as Arab and Islamic carries inherent stratification and discrimination on racial, ethnic, and religious grounds. These conflicts are the most difficult to manage within the unity framework; depending on the particular circumstance of the case, they may call for fundamental restructuring and perhaps partition."*

14.18. The African Union and HIV and AIDS Crisis and Health

Governance in Africa

The alleged creation and launching of the HIV and AIDS virus which has become one of the most violent pandemic to ravage humankind has also become an agent of domestic and national conflict that is rendering many children orphans, and many victims 'homeless' and friendless in Africa and the developing world.

Africa is hardest hit by the HIV and AIDS pandemic because of its very young active population which stands at 60% to 70% as compared to the aging populations of Europe, America and Canada. The date line of 2015 for the eradication of HIV and AIDS pandemic set by the Millennium Development Goals – MDGs does not seem attainable due to the slow pace at which the HIV and AIDS policies are applied in many countries.

HIV/AIDS has proven to be the most refined silent killer, especially among the young population of Africa. Many African countries do not make the fight against HIV and AIDS pandemic their governance priority. Some complain of poverty as the main cause. But they forget that HIV/AIDS is the greatest generator of poverty. This therefore means that eradicating HIV and the AIDS pandemic is the first step towards eradicating poverty.

The African Union has been battling on its part to sensitise and motivate African countries to take very seriously either the total eradication of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, or the minimizing of its spread in Africa.

That is why in April 2001, the African Heads of State and Government, adopted the Abuja Declaration and Plan of Action on HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis (TB) and Other Related Infectious Diseases (ORID).

The primary goal of the Declaration was to arrest and reverse the accelerating rate of HIV infection and prevalence, TB and ORID. During the Abuja Summit African leaders considered AIDS as a state of emergency on the continent and made firm commitments towards control of AIDS on the continent.

The policies that were made at the Abuja 2001 Summit were later reinforced by the Maputo Declaration on Malaria, HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and ORID (2003), the AU/NEPAD Health Strategy (2003) and the AU Assembly Decision 55 (IV) on the Interim Report on HIV/AIDS, TB, Malaria and Polio of Abuja (2005).

In December 2005, the African Union prepared a Progress Report on the Plan of Action and Abuja Declarations on AIDS, TB and malaria. This led to the convening of the Maputo Conference to address the alarming HIV incidence in Africa. This resulted in the Resolution on Acceleration of HIV governance prevention in Africa. Actually this conference built on the UNAIDS policy position paper on Intensifying HIV Prevention, as well as the World Health Organisation – WHO and the African Regional Organisation – AFRO Regional Committee – RC, which adopted resolution AFR/RC55/R6 to deal on the “Acceleration of HIV Prevention Efforts in the African Region, and called Member States to declare 2006 a year for the Accelerating HIV Prevention.

This resolution focused on the development of Strategy for the Acceleration of HIV Prevention in the African Region. Actually the African Union was building on the efforts and initiatives of the WHO/AFRO which involved UNAIDS, UNDP, UNESCO, UNIFEM, UNFPA, UNICEF support countries in the Region for the acceleration of HIV prevention. Actually the seven UN agencies finally signed a declaration and agreed to

foster the synergy in implementing a joint regional plan to support the Acceleration of HIV governance and prevention which included the provision of key milestones for 2006 and mechanisms for monitoring implementation.

The Maputo Conference was followed up by the 2nd Ordinary Session of the Conference of African Ministers of Health (CAMH2), Gaborone, Botswana 10 – 14 October 2005. This ended in The Gaborone Declaration on Universal Access to Prevention, Treatment, Care and Support. At this conference the AU countries committed themselves to the achievement of Universal Access to Treatment and Care. It also recommended an integrated AIDS, TB and malaria health care delivery system based on an essential health package. The Declaration also called for the allocation of at least 15% of the national budget to health as resolved in the Abuja 2001 Declaration.

The African Union, with support from UNAIDS, WHO, ECA and DFID, convened the Brazzaville Commitment, from 6th – 8th March 2006, which focused on Scaling Up Towards Universal Access to HIV and AIDS governance, prevention, treatment, care and support in Africa by 2010. Participants in attendance ranged from Ministers, government representatives, parliamentarians, members of civil society, people living with HIV, women, young people, and specialists from various prominent sectors, as well as faith based organizations and the private sector from the 53 Member States of the African Union.

Apart from scaling up towards Universal Access to comprehensive services for HIV and AIDS, the participants at the consultation developed key principles for the expansion of health, social and development programmes and services.

Participants also identified the main obstacles to rapid and sustainable scale up of existing national programmes and services and made recommendations to overcome the identified obstacles to universal access. The ear-marked recommended actions to be carried out were grouped into the following areas:

- financing,
- human resources and systems,
- building and strengthening systems,
- affordable commodities,
- technology and essential medicines,
- human rights and gender and
- fostering accountability.

A Critical Evaluation of Pan-Africanism Theory of Governance and Development Policy

When one considers that the original stimulator for Pan Africanism was the quest for freedom, self-governance and the choices of black people to trace their destiny and confirm their identity.

Then we try to enter the mind-set of the initiators of Pan Africanism like the Commander in Chief Toussaint l'Ouverture and Captain Dessalines who opted for armed revolution against the French and their suppressor.

And the only answers which come handy are that Toussaint l'Ouverture primordial theory on armed revolution and the dictatorship of the oppressed or the proletariat which was later adopted by Karl Marx was their objective.

Toussaint l'Ouverture did not only predict armed revolution as the only alternative left for the oppressed to liberate themselves; but he also put his theory into practice with the armed slaves who fought against the French for their freedom.

Marcus Garvey dreamed and planned the Black Exodus of all Black people held in bondage in the Americas back to Africa their motherland. His dream was never realized to the fullest because this was a direct affront to the imperialist powers who could not afford to let go their milking cows, sharecroppers and the builders of the wealth they had always depended on.

Booker Taliaferro Washington had proposed that Black people accept the superiority of the White people and the inferior position of the Blacks, and settled down to develop their technical skills and agricultural skills. His option was for the education of Black people to excel in the technical skills of production and self-emancipation from the hands of their oppressors.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois proposed the theory of the 1/10th best or what he called the "Talented Tenth" few Blacks who were to be entrusted with the leadership and liberation of the Black people. This theory of the elitist minority who would be entrusted to lead the Black people out of servitude and freedom was not very different from Booker Taliaferro Washington's of Black people accepting their inferiority to the White man. It was even less empowering because what would have become of the 90th second best and again inferior class of people if they did not have the technical and agricultural skills to take care of themselves and their masters? If WEB Du Bois theory

had to prevail, then the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People – NAACP would have forever been led by White men who would dictate the policies and make the decisions for the 10th best chosen few.

We also realise that the theory of humanitarian philanthropists and Missionaries, of the 1830s and 1850s, like Joseph Wilmot Blyden, who went to Sierra Leone, Alfred Saker and Joseph Merrick who went to Cameroon, was to enlighten their Black Brothers and sisters, who had been ravaged and devastated by slavery, was a Liberation Theology which fell short of the real emancipation of the Black people from the grips of the White man and the perpetration of the Western imperialist powers exploitation and domination of the Black continent and its people. Even though the Missionary approach could be accused of also being conservative and promoting the superiority and domination of the White race over the Black people of the world, it can also be admitted that not everything was lost in the sensitization of Black people of Africa to start thinking of their own emancipation.

Barrister Sylvester Williams, the first Black attorney from Jamaica in London, in organizing the first Pan African Congress of London on Christmas day 1900, was very enthusiastic and motivated to promote Marcus Garvey's vision and faith in Africa and African peoples' solidarity in the Diaspora and in the continent. Though not a founding theoretician, his advocacy for the sensitization and spread of Marcus Garvey's Black Exodus Idea was timely. For Barrister Sylvester Williams, if the Black Diaspora could not travel to Africa physically, they were obliged to travel mentally and virtually. His initiative won many adepts to Marcus Garvey's and Toussaint l'Ouverture's ideas, because it sparked off the launching of the various fora or open spaces that facilitated the marketing of African produced ideas for governance and development; and the prepared the platforms for the real meeting of the minds of Africans from the Diaspora and those from the African continent.

With his genius of a planner and advocacy for African affairs and outreach of his peoples and their ideas for emancipation from slavery and colonization; and for their self-development; he became the precursor of later days Saints and Advocates for African Governance and Development like René Dumont (1962) who, just like Booker Taliaferro Washington, proposed the mastery of natural environment and the mastery of the techniques of agriculture for food sufficiency as the basis for African development; and Amartya Sen (1999) who proposed freedom as the basis for all sustainable development.

It was this initiative of Barrister Sylvester Williams in London that was to set the pace rolling for the other Pan African Congresses, with that of Paris in 1919, which brought WEB DuBois to the limelight as mouth piece and leader

of the American Diaspora, joining forces with the Caribbean and European Diaspora, as well as the African Diaspora of African students and African Frenchmen and African Soldiers of the First World War who fought for France, for this common and greater vision of freedom of governance and development for Africa.

It was at the Pan African Congress of Paris in 1919 that the American and the British Caribbean African Diaspora were able to meet in concourse to dialogue and exchange their views on African liberation, governance and development with the French Caribbean and French African Diaspora. This concourse provided an open forum for WEB DuBois to meet with Black French Africans like Blaise Diagne who was not only already a Commander in Chief of the envied position of Governor-General for military recruitment in French West Africa, but also was Deputy in the French National Assembly.

This Parisian encounter and concourse between the French speaking and the English speaking Africans and African Diaspora gave a more adequate platform for the Humanism of Pan Africanism to respire and grow and plant its roots as far up there in the sky of the Surrealist Humanism that the French culture was already propagating as opposed to the racist-driven segregating theories of the Anglo-Saxon culture of the British, Australians and the Americans.

WEB DuBois advocacy, at the World Conference of the Allies in Versailles, in 1919, for independence of the colonies and the colonial people of the defeated Germany was not given consideration. But it would seem his theory of the 10th chosen best or the “Talented Tenth” Black people would have inspired the League of Nations to make a compromise which created the League of Nations’ Mandated Territories.

This creation of the League of Nations Mandated Territories brought the German colonies in Africa that is, Togo, Cameroon, Rwanda-Burundi, Tanganyika (Tanzania), and South West Africa (Namibia), under the tutelage of the League of Nations. But the truth is that these Mandated Territories of the League of Nations were never administered differently from the other colonies of imperialist Europe.

The Parisian concourse also provided the platform, not just for the French cultural influence and Frenchifying colonizing tactics to throw the bait for the admiring Anglo-Saxon Diaspora from Great Britain and America; just as with its Egalitarian Freedom and Surrealist Humanitarian Brotherhood as the National branding of “Liberté, Fraternité, et Egalité” open political market and leanings for the Marxist Communist theory and flair for novelty, it also gave

the possibility for the Comintern (Communist International) to penetrate Pan Africanism.

This attraction was too strong to resist as it re-ignited the dream and pro-action in armed revolution of Toussaint l'Ouverture and Dessaline, thus giving another chance for Africans to liberate themselves from the imperialist colonial oppressor.

This would go a long way to realise the "Black Exodus" of Marcus Garvey dream for the African Diaspora to return to their motherland Africa and rebuild the continent and make more fruitful for the land and its natural and artificial resources, its people and its children, its plants, its animals all put together for the sustainable development of Africa.

We realise how after the First World War and before the Second World War and after, the Comintern and the Western Allied powers reinforced their geo-strategic tactics to win the favour of Pan Africanists, especially among the University students who would become the future policy makers in Africa and the colonized world.

This is how in 1935, African intellectuals of the French Ecole Normale: Aimé Césaire from Martinique, Léon Gontran Damas from Guyana and Léopold Sédar Senghor of Senegal would benefit from the French Socialist and Communist protection and largess and come out with the assertive African Identity discourse of Negritude. These three intellectuals with their fellow students Gilbert Gratiant, Leonard Sainville, and Paulette Nardal, initiated the publishing of the magazine titled *L'Etudiant Noire*, Black Student, which became the forum for the creation of awareness about Black African identity. The Black Student magazine wanted to hold the mirror of racism in the face of the White folks of Europe and France. By deliberately using the pejorative expression "nigger" (negro) (Paul Francois Paoli, Figaro, 2008) to emphasise the Black consciousness of the value-asset and aesthetics of determination in the emancipation of Black people; and the raising of Blackness to the pinnacle of emancipation of all Humanity.

It is very interesting to realise that while Pan Africanism was still in the cradle it was immediately taken charge of by White Midwives of the liberal "Left" of Europe and America. While in Great Britain the Fabian Society that opted for a reformed Socialism and Non-Violent change took charge of sponsoring Pan Africanism; in the United States of America the White-Directed NAACP – the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People took charge; in France it was also the "reformed" Intelligentsia Political Class of the Socialist and the Communist Parties that wooed and courtship with the French Colonial Pan Africanists. One can then

understand how it came to pass that the intellectual elitist class, moulded and groomed for long in these schools of thought could not totally embrace fully the violent Marxist theory of Armed Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The African Elitist Class and the American Elitist Talented Tenth were not and could not be compared to the “Proletariat Class”. They were actually being groomed unknowingly to assume the Colonial Masters’ place back in the colonies. They could not rise up in the Toussaint L’Ouverture manner or the induced Marxist manner, to revolt and commit patricide in the Freudian manner, because they were always taken into consideration and given the chance of their needs-expressions as well as the listening ears and audition to their pre-occupations of begging and eating the crumbs from the Colonial Master’s Table .

This is the tactics that played very well in favour of the colonial enterprise when elitist Africans were also admitted into the “Secret Societies” of the Colonial Masters Elitist Confraternities like the Free-Masons and the Rosicrucians. These two Confraternities have served as the main arms of the Colonial Enterprise in grooming African Elites admitted into the mainstream European and American “Secret Societies of Power Brokers” in the Western World. Other African Elites join other American Secret Societies like: the “Secrets Of ‘The Lost Symbol’...,” Fraternal Order of Eagles, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Improved Order of Red Men, Knights of Columbus, Knights of Pythias, Knights of the Maccabees, Order of the Eastern Star, etc.

15.1. Prince Dika Akwa and the “Mungi” Alternative to Freemasonry, the Rosicrucian, and other Esoteric Eurocentric Societies to Salvage Young Africans

I experienced this grooming when I was a student in Europe. I became a pupil-member of Free-Masons of Paris before moving into the pupillage of the Rosicrucians. The majority of African students in France especially and in Europe were invited to join the Free-Masons’ or the Rosicrucians’ Elitist Political and Economic Power Brokering Societies. This explains why today it is difficult to find an African elite who studied in France or Britain who is not a Free-Mason or a Rosicrucian. That goes the same with appointments to higher positions of political and economic power control in Ministerial or Corporate Institutions of the State.

A new era came when I and most of my colleagues as young students in France and Europe in the late 1970s and early 1980s were very privileged to start rubbing shoulders with eminent African Researchers and Professors like Prince Dika Akwa Nya Bonambela and Reverend Engelbert Mveng, S.J., who were also researchers of the Laboratory of Legal Anthropology of the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) where I was recruited as Researcher and Doctoral Candidate in Political and Legal Anthropology.

Dika Akwa and Rev. Engelbert Mveng started inculcating in us the spirit of rigour in research, pride in our African identity and indigenous culture, as well as the African indigenous knowledge and technology; and African Indigenous Philosophy. They instilled in us the fire of independence and mental freedom in a manner we have never experience before. This is how our quest for emulative intellectualism began as we took our pews in the conferences organized by the Laboratory of Legal and Political Anthropology to debate issues of African History and Anthropology as well as philosophy and law.



Photos 200 (a) & (b): Prince Dika Akwa Nya Bonambela: 27th January, 1933 – 21st July 1995

This explains how, when in the early 1980s Prince Dika Akwa Nya Bonnambela, decided to create a counter Pan African Elitist Society of “Mungi” – to revive the “Leopard Confraternity of the Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt,” and recruit young African students in Europe to form the base of his new movement which became very suspect to the European Secret Police

Forces. One can therefore understand the reason behind its being ruthlessly attacked and destroyed by the French Secret Police.

It is clear and pertinent to understand that there is a great challenge in the esoteric and hermetic and hermeneutic society into which an African neo-intellectual is born. The inner and deeper life of beings are controlled by the Hermeticism and the hermeneutic manner in which all knowledge and phenomena are interpreted and assumed. All neo-intellectual Africans are influenced by the exegesis of the Holy Bible for the neophytes of Hermeticism, while the experienced and experimented go in for Rosicrucianism, Freemasonry or other occultic and esoteric societies. Since the neo-intellectual African has lost the base of his original esoteric Hermeticism and hermeneutics, the only way left is to embrace Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry which are controlled by the Eurocentric World of Knowledge and Governance. It is a truth that he who controls the mind determines the production. And so the Eurocentric West controls the minds of African intellectuals who are capable of producing and communicating Knowledge and Science. And since the African mind is still controlled by the West and is Eurocentrically based, then Africa can never have a free mind-set and thinking of its own. This is what Dika Akwa was fighting. This is the mental slavery Bob Marley has been singing about. Africa must first liberate itself from mental slavery. That is what Dika Akwa and “Mungism” was all about, liberating young Africans from mental slavery.

The objective of Mungi Confraternity, according to Dika Akwa, was to stop Africans from being recruited into the Free-Masons and the Rosicrucians Secret Societies. He created a Temple at the 11th District (11th Arrondissement) of Paris as seat for the Satellite Confraternity-Lodges that were created in Europe; and another Temple in Douala, where he is buried today, as seat of the Satellite Confraternity-Lodges of Africa.

Dika Akwa Nya Bonambella's Mungi Elitist Society, which he also projected by defending a mammoth Doctorat D'état Thesis, the Anglo-Saxon Equivalent of the DLitt, Doctor of Letters, at the Sorbonne, in 1984. This mammoth thesis was titled; “NYAMBEISM PENSEE ET MODE D'ORGANISATION DES NEGRO-AFRICAINS. In this mammoth thesis of 2000 pages made up of four volumes, Dika Akwa eruditely demonstrated and reconstructed the architectural system of Power and Governance in Black Africa from the time of the Pharaohnic Egypt to the present day Africa. He demonstrated how the Architectural Construct of Black African Civilisation of Pharaohnic Egypt to present day Africa is still viable and representative of the African type of Democracy which has stood its time. His objective was to

revive this African indigenous knowledge bank of the African Management of Power and Governance for the reconstruction and sustainable development of Africa that has been reduced to the Slave-Driven Economic Capitalist Producer of Europe and America, and later to a Whore of World Capitalist Sex-Tourism and exotic exploitation of all sorts.

Dika Aklwa, the Cheikh Anta Diop of Cameroon, just like Reverend Engelbert Mveng, S.J. (1970) who demonstrated in his PhD Thesis in History University Institute of Paris, the Black African Origin of Greek Civilisation, Science, Arts and Philosophy; followed up his demonstration of the thesis of the original Black Civilisation of Pharaohnic Egypt with another Mammoth publication entitled *The Descendants of The Pharaohs Across Africa* and another on *The Problems of African Anthropology and History*:



Photos 201 (a) & (b): Prince Dika Akwa Retracing The Phenotypical Resemblance Of Africans Today With Pharaohnic Egyptians Thus Confirming The Common Genetic Stock; Prince Dika Akwa On the Importance Of Reconstructing The Common History Of Africans As A Whole

Dika Akwa's objective and strategic drive was to penetrate all the high instances of economic and governmental power structures as well as the academia, from the lowest to the highest ranks of Africa. He always reminded young Africans to remember that the Free-Masons just like the Rosicrucians, now dominated by the Western European Power Bases, were derived from

Africa by the legendary King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table and Napoleon Bona Parte when they visited Egypt and penetrated the secrets of Black Pharaohnic Egypt. He was able to show how today this indigenous knowledge bank is straddled all over Black Africa from Egypt to South Africa, Kenya to Senegal in its various architectural constructs and forms and expressions.

For Dika Akwa, the idea of African Negritude was not to live in the past but to reconstruct and revive the past that was still engraved and living in Africa and in all peoples of African Descent to confirm and forge their Identity and Integrity as a people that have been bastardised by long years of Slavery, Colonialism, Occupation, Exploitation, Deprivation and Dehumanisation.

15.2. Reverend Father Engelbert Mveng And The Theology Of The Cosmic Black Christ And Pan African Humanism

The very humble and down to earth Reverend Father and Professor Engelbert Mveng caught my great admiration and became my spiritual mentor when he started telling us how to explore the various rituals and celebrations of the “Consumption of Power,” “Manducation du Pouvoir” in Africa and the various forms Power Consumption took. He explained to us that we were living in an era where the forces of intellectual cannibalism as well as material cannibalism was rife and ruthless.

For Father Mveng, each aspiring intellectual African had to arm oneself through intellectual research and contemplation with the Divine Source of all Knowledge in order to be spiritually strong to face the turbulent world of intellectual falsification of historical data to suit the taste of those intellectuals who were bent on fostering theories of ethnocide and anthropofage through the distortion of Human History. He went to explain that the falsification of Human History and the refusal of Africans to speak for themselves are nothing short of ethnogenocide and ethno-cannibalism, whereby some peoples, ethnicities and races are made to believe that they are superior to other peoples and races, and can do whatever they like at will. These were those he, like Dika Akwa, described as the new intellectual demons and destroyers produced by some European, American and Semitic Intelligentsia who refused to recognise the equality of the races and individuals as created in God’s Image and likeness when they go on preaching the racist doctrine of a “Chosen People” as if God made a mistake to create all Peoples Equal as primarily chosen from the day God created them.

In paying tribute to Prince Dika Akwa Nya Bonambella the author (Fongot Kinni, 2012) made some of these fascinating revelations of his contributions to foster the spiritual esoteric Pan Africanism:

“That was when Prince Dika Akwa Nya Bonambella came into my life as my new spiritual mentor and initiator into the African esoteric science confraternity and sorority of the Mermaids of “Munguism,” “Men and Women of the Leopard Vital Force”. It was Dika Akwa who initiated me on the rituals of invoking and appeasing Mermaids. One of the simplest ways is by pouring libations of fresh milk and honey in special water spaces renowned to be sanctuaries of Mermaids. Dika, as we fondly addressed our Grand Master Initiator and mentor, admonished us the young African men and women students who were members of the Freemason or the Rosicrucian esoteric societies, to defect and create an Pan-African by-gender esoteric confraternity-sorority, so as to reconstruct the African original liberating mind-set and school of thought. We were to integrate our African-European cross-cultural esoteric heritage to come up with a more innovative original and liberating manner of perception and interpretation of daily phenomena. The end purpose was for liberating the African mind-set and to hone the exploration techniques and sharing of knowledge to combine and apply esoteric and cultural natural science for the enhancement of African sustainable development. According to Dika the Great Master, we were to integrate the ambivalent vital forces of the land and forest Mermaid Spirits of Jengi (Jengu), the “Forestlad” symbolizing the Male Vital force, whose totems are the Leopard, Vegetation and Fire; and the water Mermaid Spirits of Liengu, the Female Vital Force, whose totems are the Fish, Marine Vegetation and Water. The Great Master Dika taught us to understand that Fire and Water are the two generating and regenerating Vital Forces of all Life. He confirmed that actually God created the Vital Forces in all life by combining in a bisymmetric manner the Vital Force of Fire and Water as prescribed in the Book of Life (Théophile Obenga, 1990) in Pre-Pharaonic, Pharaonic and Post-Pharaonic African Philosophy and African Religion. That explains why “Forestlads” and Mermaids are the most gifted Vital Force beings because they possess the primordial Divine Spirit and “Breath” from which all matter and all things created were made. Hence they are called in classical traditional African philosophy and religion demi-gods, with other nomenclatures and manifestations like Ogbanje, Nkamasi, Twins, Mediums, God’s Prophets and God’s Oracle (God’s/Divine Word). Our Parisian “Mungui” confraternity/sorority developed our creative and innovative and inquisitive thinking on the state of the art in African thought and Western thought beyond Negritude. We were actually experimenting and applying some of the esoteric techniques we learned from each other. We were becoming a strong force to reckon with, as Dika the Great Master used to reassure us each time he

visited and orientated us, bringing newer insights from Africa. I became more and more lucid in my perception and assessment of things, people, situations and happenings. Dika had raised or Parisian Mentor, Professor Ebenezer Kotto-Esome, to the rank of "Great Teacher" of the Parisian "Mungui"..."

Father Mveng and Dika Akwa explained that it was urgent that Africans got themselves and especially their minds rid of these Western Vampires and Intellectual Cannibals who saw the Africans only as fodder and meat to satisfy their intellectual and material greed for the destruction of the world.



Photos 203 (a) (b): The Demons Of Intellectual Cannibalism And Ethnocidism As Perceived And Depicted By African Pan Africanists; BUNDU DIA KONGO The Pan African Ritual Symbol Of Spiritual And Material Power And Harmony

According to testimonies on Mveng's philosophy about African civilization, art and history ([hmsarthistorian_2012](#)) the theme of ethnocide is also expressed in what Mveng calls "Anthropological Poverty". These testimonies hold that:

"Besides Mveng's theology of life, he was also known for a concept he originated, called "anthropological poverty." It consists "in despoiling human beings not only of what they have, but of everything that constitutes their being and essence— their identity, history, ethnic roots, language, culture, faith, creativity, dignity, pride, ambitions, right to speak" (Mveng, "Third World Theology - What Theology? What Third World?: Evaluation by an African Delegate," in Irruption of the Third World: Challenge to Theology, 220) For Mveng, this comprehensive form of poverty is a product of "slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid, and the universal derision that has

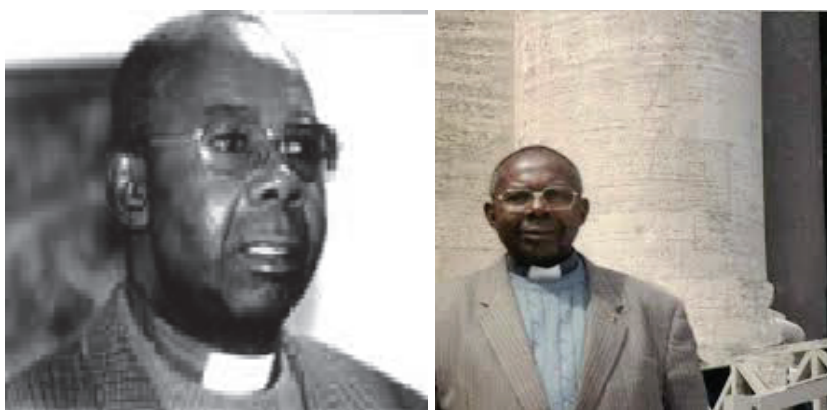
always accompanied the ‘civilized’ world’s discourse upon and encounter with Africa—and still accompanies them today” (Mveng, “Third World Theology,” 220)., neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid, and the universal derision that has always accompanied the ‘civilized’ world’s discourse upon and encounter with Africa—and still accompanies them today” (Mveng, “Third World Theology,” 220).”

They all advised us to embrace the very ancient African Philosophy of Harmony and Symbiosis of Peoples and Ethnicities depicted by the visible and invisible world of creativity, dexterity and transformation symbolised by the snail, the two headed serpent and the inverted triangle that represented the underworld and material world of Osiris the God of Vegetation and the visible astral transcendent world of Ra the Primordial Creator of the Universe.

Reverend Mveng continued to defend, and to demonstrate with African indigenous knowledge data, just like Theophile Obenga (1974), that the thesis he postulated in 1971 at the University Institute of Paris, that not only did the African Black culture influence the Ancient Greek culture in the Arts, Mathematics, the Sciences, Arts and Philosophy, but that there were Black teachers and technicians in the Ancient Greek and Roman Worlds.

Rev. Mveng was of the high opinion that it was only by going back to tap from the African indigenous knowledge and technology that Africans, whether educated in the Western or Eastern Schools of thought, would find the solution to their retardedness in the modern civilization, as well as rediscover the fount of their creativity.

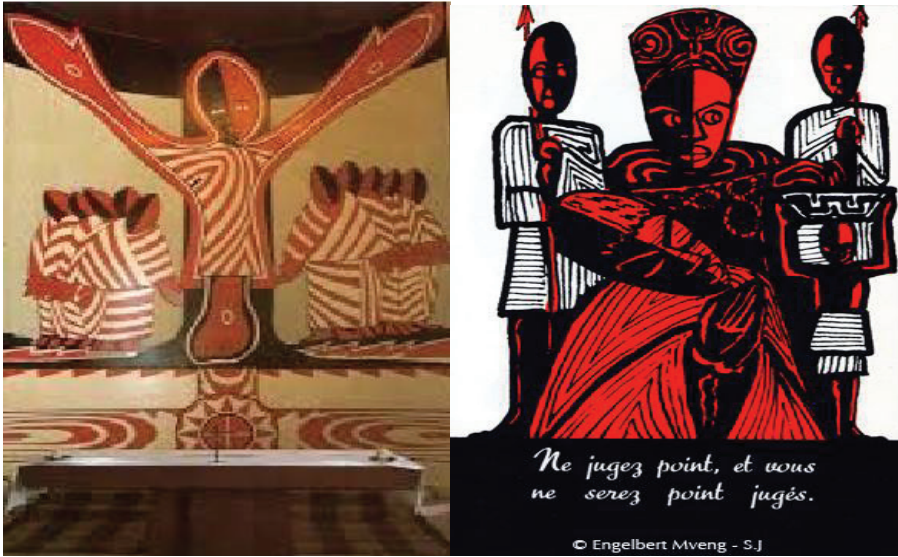
Father Mveng demonstrated his convictions in African Indigenous Knowledge and Technology by his various creative works of literature and art. He was able to show from his use of indigenous African inspired themes and ideas to create his sacred paintings as well as his literary creations and contributions to modern human knowledge.



Photos 204 (a) & (b): Reverend Engelbert Mveng: 9 May, 1930 – 22 April, 1995

Father Mveng was a Liberation Theologian with a great difference because he preached more of the self-realization of the Living Christ and the Living God in every one of us. Mveng told me personally that he was not a theologian of the Dead Christ but the Living Christ who must be celebrated in the lives of each and every one of us his followers. That explains Mveng's pre-occupation with depicting the triumphant and majestic resurrected Christ as the Victor of his Liberation Theology; whereby Christ leads everyone to the freedom of creativity and self-affirmation of his or her identity as a free born of Christ and of God in whose Image and Likeness we are all created equal as expressed in this painting below.

Wherefore Mveng warns us not to judge others so that we shall not be judged in return. According to Mveng the only manner by which Africa will prove the intellectual and material vampires of Western Europe and America wrong in their racism and Apartheid and slave-driven capitalism and colonization was to show the world that no amount of slavery, colonialism and deprivation will stop Africa from its God-given wealth of creativity and transcendental renewal of the Vital Forces in us. For Father Mveng the power of the New Liberation Theology for the New African was in his or her strength to transcend all the challenges of deprivation created by slavery, colonization, exploitation, racism, apartheid and humiliation, embracing the resurrected Christ and tapping from the wells of the eternal Vital Force in the new creativity which surpasses the loss encountered during slavery, colonization, exploitation and deprivation by the Western European and American powers. For Father Mveng the Victory of Africans lies not in confrontation with the Western Powers, but in Africans striving through their mental liberation and creativity to show them that Africa is that indefatigable and indomitable people whose destiny is to overcome all deprivations imposed by slavery, colonisation, Apartheid and racism.

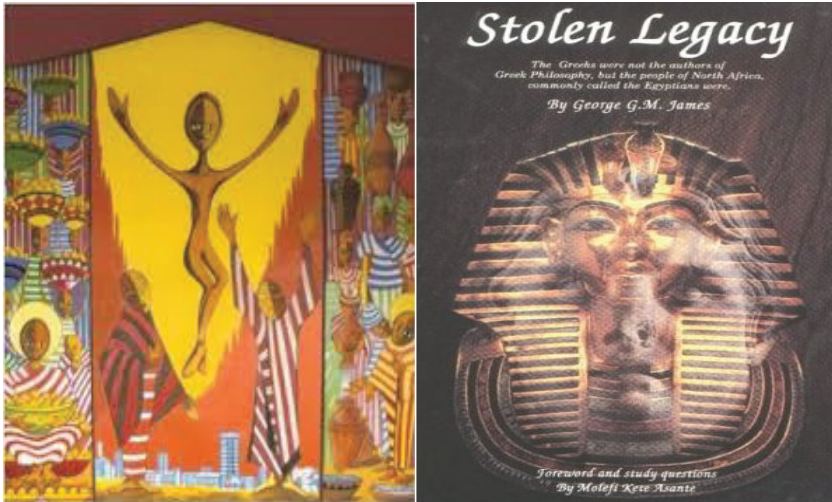


Photos 205 (a) & (b): Father Engelbert Mveng And The Triumphant Pan Africanist Christ; Father Mveng And The Pan African Resilient Virgin And The Pan Humanist Pan African Christ

One can understand therefore the distinction made ([hmsarthistorian](#) 2012) on the differences between Mveng's Liberation Theology and that of the Latin American Theologians:

"Liberation theologians approached their interpretation of scripture with this perspective already in mind, and did not allow scripture itself to inform their response to poverty. As a result, some priests advocated a violent response from the poor to governmental oppression, a choice which further increased bloodshed. As a result of these outcomes, and the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the late 1980's and early 1990's, many liberation theologians became disillusioned with Marxism and began to pursue less confrontational means of helping the poor. In contrast to Latin America, Mveng's concept of liberation theology was apparently not influenced by Marxism. Rather, Mveng and his contemporaries sought to grapple with the issues not only of poverty, but also apartheid, racism and colonialism. Due to the variety of interpretations among liberation theologians about Jesus and the Bible (and because I couldn't find much about Mveng's thoughts about these topics), I will not try to explain Mveng's view of scripture and the gospel. From what I have read, however, it seems to me that Mveng at least held Christ and scripture in high regard, and sought to apply Christ's teachings to every facet of African life in the modern era. Regarding liberation theology itself, I find a comment by Christopher J.H. Wright to be helpful: "Biblically, all true liberation, all truly human best interests flow from God...

We are advocates for God before we are advocates for others... The church must therefore begin its mission with doxology, otherwise everything peters out into social activism and aimless programs” (The Mission of God 45, 46). I get the impression that Mveng focused on the worship of God, as a basis for the rest of his activities and pursuits. Sadly, after thirty years of teaching at the University of Yaoundé Department of History, Mveng was brutally murdered in his home by an unknown assailant in 1995. The incident was one of several murders of clergy in Cameroon at that time, and Mveng’s murder remains unsolved to this day. Unfortunately, most of his books and writings (in French) have never been translated into English.”



Photos 205 (c) (d): Father Mveng And The Resurrected Triumphant Pan Africanist Christ; The Stolen Legacy Of Africa

According to Mveng the true liberation theologian had to fight and be wary against the self, against mediocrity, complacency and against self-defeat; whereby the only way to lay claims for the Crimes Against Humanity and Africa committed by the Western European and American Powers; was to assume this new battle of the resurrected Christ to promote the unstoppable freedom to transcend all obstacles to recreate the world with all the injustices that have moulded its history of exploitation. For according to Mveng the battle was no more that of physical arms of violence for violence, after the philosophy of Malcolm X. It was rather this new approach of mental liberation and the new creativity to reconstruct the world, to challenge the distorted notion that civilization started in Greece, and to pose the rightful place of Africa as the cradle of all civilisation, humanity and all creativity.

Part of this distorted notion of Christ and Civilisation was this format from the Western slave-driven capitalist world where Christ was painted White and Sin or evil Black. Engelbert Mveng insisted in using the African colours of representation which were mainly red, black and white. Where red signifies the dynamic transforming life; and black the material vital life force of the living; and white the vital spiritual transcendental life force of death. These are the basic colours in Africa carrying on the same messages wherever they can be tested in their various historical spaces of contextualisations. Hence the version of colours given by Hans-Reudi Weber, in his book *On a Friday: Meditations Under the Cross*, gives a distorted interpretation of Father Mveng's usage of colours when he says:

"Only three colours are used, which in West Africa denote suffering (black), death (white), and life (red). The crucified Lord, mainly painted in red, is shown on the black cross and has taken up into himself the white of death. In the semi-circular apse his outstretched arms are not only raised but stretched forward, embracing the whole world, as if giving his benediction from the cross at his feet the whole cosmos is gathered up, while under his arms people come together in one great family."

Black as a colour has never represented or signified "Evil" or "Poverty" in African visual anthropological cognitive systems and African Philosophical concepts, as Hans-Reudi Weber claims. Certainly Weber is coming from the biased colonial and Eurocentric racist school of thought where "Black" has always been perceived as representing Evil, the Devil and Poverty of Life. The other related colours to Black are: Green, Blue which are the colours of the god of the underworld, Osiris, the god of Vegetation; to Red are: Brown, Yellow, Gold which are the colours of Ra, the Primordial Vital Force, Creator and Giver of all Life; to White are: Ash and Grey the colours of the god Horus, the Spiritual and Transcendental Life represented by the Dove, which is the Coordination between the Pharaohic Egyptian Pantheon of the Trinity of God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit; where the Virgin Isis is the Mother of the Material-Human and Divine Son Horus is the Symbol of God Incarnate, which the Judeo-Christian Theology has embraced and interpreted into their New Trinitarian Theology and Theosophy.

In Christianity, Christ the Nazarene and Rastafarian, represented the New Horus who came to establish the New Life of Freedom and eternal Salvation. Being a Nazarene, Christ was not therefore a descendant of David by genealogy but by affiliation, since he was of the remnants of the Canaanite original Black people who were waiting for the restoration of the occupied and

colonised land of the children of Palestinian-Canaanites, by the new settlers and occupants of the land; who were none other than the Jews.

That explains how it came to be recorded that the Jews had never considered Jesus Christ as a Jew and a Messiah of the so-called “Chosen People” of a parachronic ideographic “Promised Land” that became the land of contention to this day; because the Original People of the Land of Canaan could not understand how God could turn round to seize their ancestral and heritage to bequeath to new occupants and colonisers.

Father Mveng was the same Theologian who affirmed in his conference organized before his assassination in 1995, that Moses was an African-Egyptian and not a Jew as prescribed in the Bible. And that the Mosaic Laws were a new interpretation of Ancient Pharaohnic Egyptian Religion, the first Universal Religion before the advent of Christianity. And the fact that Father Mveng strived to paint Jesus in Black and Red testifies to this original truth that Jesus was Black, a Rastafarian and not White and Jew as Eurocentric Racist Judeo-Christians have always painted him (see paintings below).



Photos 205 (e) (f): Father Mveng And The Pan African Humanist Christ Initiating The New Order Of Love Of Sister And Brother As Love For Self

This bold disclosure of Father Mveng about Moses and Jesus Christ as being Black and not Jew or White, according to my judgment, was the cause of his assassination. He could not be assassinated by President Paul Biya, as some wagging tongues were prone to accuse the innocent President. Logically he could only be assassinated by the Catholic Church who wanted to pre-empt the avalanche this revelation would cost the Eurocentric Judeo-Christian

Church, if people came to realize that Jesus Christ was a Black African and not a Jew. This was the same fate which befell Pope John Paul I, Cardinal Lucian Albino, and most probably Pope John XXIII, when the Catholic Church realised that he was to create an avalanche in the Catholic Church with his new stringent reforms. And as the Catholic Church adage always holds: “Better for one person to die to save the rest of the people.”

Mveng was very astute and keen to fight this Eurocentric war of racism, apartheid, slavery, colonisation and deprivation of Africa and Africans through the non-violent restitution and reconstruction of the African Identity of Jesus Christ and the Humanism of the New Pan Africanism of integration of all the productive forces of the New Universe which constituted the new Palestinian Nazarenean and Jewish Universe without exception; without discrimination as most Arabs accuse what they call “Zionist Israel” for doing today to occupy and exclude the descendants of the original people, the Palestinians from Israel, under the pretext they term a “Zionist Lie and Scamming” that God made them a Chosen People and gave them absolute exclusive rights over the Land of Canaan flowing with milk and honey, which previously belonged to the Canaanites, the forefathers of the PALESTINIANS.

That is how Christ, in his Liberation Theology of Humanism and Integration of all Productive Human Forces, including the “Wandering Jews,” who had left their former fatherland as Refugees into Canaan, came to respond to his Apostles when they asked him on Palm Sunday when he rode on the colt that they thought it was time to restore Kingdom and the land to the original occupants, the Palestinian Nazarenes; and Christ responded that his kingdom was more of the transcendental Kingdom to just the physical and material kingdom of this earth; but of the eternal kingdom of God the Father embracing Jews, Palestinians-Philistines and Gentiles without exception.

This hypothesis is confirmed by J.-P. Messina and M.P. Hebga (2003) as well as Y.C. Elenga (2005), who also pay tribute to Mveng’s Liberation Theology of non-violence propounding the Humanism of Pan Africanism and Pan-Humanism, which embraces all peoples and races without exception:

“Le Père Meng emploie comme méthode théologique la contextualisation (le discours théologique africain part d’une situation historico-culturelle propre à l’Afrique) et l’inculturation (témoigner de la foi dans la contexte culturel africain) de la révélation chrétienne en Afrique. Il insiste également sur une lecture africaine de la Bible afin de libérer l’Africain de tout ce qui entrave son épanouissement. C’est pourquoi la thématique majeure du Père Meng, en plus d’être une théologie de la libération, est centrée sur une théologie de la vie, vie qui triomphe des forces de mort. Au terme de cette

introduction à la théologie de Meng, quelques questions demeurent, peut-on lui reconnaître le statut de théologien? La théologie africaine peut-elle se passer de collaborer avec les sciences humaines? La théologie de la vie peut être déduite du " langage symbolique de l'art," du langage symbolique de la liturgie, qui mettent en scène, en mouvement, en images, en couleurs, le drame fondamental et de la mort. Cela s'illustre merveilleusement dans le Chemin de Croix de l'auteur qui déploie sur un fond de couleurs de circonstances, la passion du Christ. À l'image du monde, en l'homme, s'affrontent la vie et la mort; la mission de l'homme "est d'identifier les alliés de la vie, de les gagner à sa cause, et d'assurer ainsi sa survie qui est en même temps la victoire de la vie." La spiritualité de la libération a ses racines en Égypte pharaonique. C'est en Égypte qu'est née la plus ancienne et la seule religion dont le dogme enseigne la victoire de la vie sur la mort. La morale pharaonique annonce le Décalogue et la Bonne Nouvelle des Béatitudes. Isis et Osiris ont enseigné la vérité sur l'homme, sur le monde, et sur l'au-delà. Ils ont enseigné à l'homme l'art de vaincre la mort, la praxis de la libération. C'est dire que la réflexion théologique sur la libération trouve ses fondements historiques et épistémologiques en Égypte pharaonique. La spiritualité de la qu'apporte l'évangile conduit aux Béatitudes. La spiritualité des Béatitudes célèbre le triomphe de la vie sur la mort, de l'amour sur la haine, de liberté sur la servitude. La spiritualité des Béatitudes invite au discernement, le chrétien devrait être un éternel contestataire. Cela lui donne d'être un éternel contestataire et d'être un prophète. « L'art traditionnel africain est l'œuvre de créativité du génie négro-africain ; à travers cette œuvre, l'homme exprime sa vision du monde, sa vision de l'homme et sa conception de Dieu» . L'art se vit et s'exprime dans la musique, la danse, et la poésie. En outre, l'art est un langage cosmologique, anthropologique et liturgique. En tant que langage liturgique l'art est « expression de la célébration cosmique, des mystères divins par l'homme dans sa fonction proprement sacerdotale» . Une meilleure vision de l'art d'Afrique selon Meng est contenu dans son ouvrage clé, L'art d'Afrique noire. Liturgie cosmique et langage religieux. »

« Reverend Father Meng uses as a Theological method the contextualisation (the African Theological discourse takes off from a socio-historical situation relevant to Africa) and the inculturation (bear testimony to the faith in the cultural context of Africa) with regards to the Christian revelation in Africa. He insists equally on the African reading of the Bible so as to free Africa from all (the Eurocentric and Judeo-Christian mombo-jombo) which hinder the enjoyment and welfare of the African. It is for this reason that the major thematic of Father Mveng, apart from being a Liberation Theology, it is centred on a Theology of Life, a Liberation Theology of Life which triumphs over Death. In reference to this introduction to the Theology of Mveng, certain questions remain, as to whether one could recognise in him the status of a Theologian?

Can the African Theology exist without collaborating with the Human Sciences? Is it possible to deduce the Theology of Life from the « Symbolic Language of Art », from the Symbolic Language of Liturgy, which brings on stage, in movement, in images, the fundamental drama and the drama of Death ? The drama of death is marvelously illustrated in the Stations of the Cross of the author who deploys on a background of circumstantial colours, the passion of Christ. In the image of the world, in the context of a man, in confrontation with life and death ; the mission of humans «is to identify with the allies of life, so as to win them over to their cause, and to assure therefore the survival which is at the same time the victory of Life. » The Spirituality of the Liberation Theology have its roots in Pharaohnic Egypt. The Spirituality of the Beatitudes celebrate the triumph of Life over Death, of Love over Hatred, of Liberty over Servitude and Slavery. The spirituality of the Beatitudes invite the Christian to have a critical mind-set, where the Christian is eternally a protestor. This Spirit endows the Christian not only to become an eternal Protestor, but also a Prophet. « African Traditional Art is the work of creativity of the Black-African Genius ; through this work, humans express their world vision, their vision of humanity and their conception of God. » Art is lived and finds expression in Music, Dance, and in Poetry. Besides, Art is a Cosmological, Anthropological and Liturgical Language. As a Liturgical Language Art is the « expression of the Cosmic Celebration, of the Divine Mysteries by Humans in their proper sacerdotal/priestly fonctions. » A better vision of African Art according to Mveng is contained in his fundamental work on: The Art of Black Africa, Cosmic Liturgy and Religious Language .»

One realises the mammoth intellectual and material efforts Reverend Father Mveng, through endless research and hard work, laced with numerous workshops and conferences, endeavoured to reconstruct and set right the African heritage of Christianity which was first and foremost African, Pharaohnic Egyptian in its foundations and mysteries, before it was Judeo-Christianised, Eurocentricised and Bastardised ; before it was used by the Western Judeo-Christian European and American Slave-Traders and Colonisers to scam Africans that they were a « Cursed Race » fit only to be Slaves of Humanity.

That explains why King Leopold of Belgium warned his Missionaries not to preach about God to Africans; because, according to him, Africans knew God more than the scammy Judeo-Christian European Slave-Dealers and Colonisers of Africa. He entreated his Missionaries to teach Africans how to obey and pay allegiance and tribute to the KING and not to GOD.

The celebration of Reverend Father E. Mveng goes with the herculean reconstruction of the Black African Religious Heritage; and the celebration of

the Black Moses, the Black Jesus and the Black Christianity, as well as the Pan-Humanism of Pan-Africanism.

Africa owes him tribute for scientifically, like Cheikh Anta Diop, recuperating from racist Historians, Philosophers and Theologians the Black African Cultural Heritage; and for reconstructing the Black African Identity and Africanity; as well as rehabilitating and vulgarising the Art and Liturgy of African Religion to Humanity.

15.3. Wole Soyinka and the Idea of Tigritude

When Jen Bouchard (2009) explains that in the 1960s, and after, Négritude philosophy was criticised by certain black writers as being insufficiently militant and essentialist, this is because the critics do not understand the long grooming that went on with the elitist intellectuals who rubbed shoulders with the White moderate Leftist Intelligentsia Political class of France at that time.

When the Nigerian play write, poet, novelist and Nobel Prize Winner, Wole Soyinka, criticized Senghor's Negritude as not having enough clout when he argued that: *"the tiger does not cry about its tigritude; it pounces on his prey and devours it"*; he seemed to forget that it would require a very drastic reason of disappointment and treachery for well-groomed bedfellows or friends to fight.

The reason is that France, which practiced racism with a difference and a human face, accepting that people belonged to a social class than to a race, assimilated everybody black and white, yellow and red, in the same crucible of identity and called them French, even though of some inkling of first and second class citizens. This was unlike Britain with a very crude and dehumanised segregation like the Apartheid of South Africa, the elimination and segregation of Black Aboriginal People of Australia and Tasmania, the elimination and segregation of First Nation Peoples and Black People of the USA and Canada. Many Black Americans discovered after the First World War that Blacks soldiers and Blacks robbed soldiers with White Frenchmen, and that there were Black representatives in the French National Assembly; and even Black Senegalese like Blaise Diagne whom WEB Dubois used for the Parisian Pan African Congress. Many Blacks of African American origin, like James Baldwin, Angela Davis, and others felt much at ease in France than in America because they were not segregated because of their colour. Leopold Sédar Senghor was even admitted in the Academie Française and the French Pantheon even though he was a Black man. This would never happen in a British owned territory.

Even when Jen Bouchard (2009), also admits that the South African poet and political activist, Keorapetse Kgotsitsile, argued that the Negritude movement placed too much emphasis on celebrating blackness in the framework of a white aesthetics, and thus was unable to put forth a new kind of black perception that would free black intellectuals and artists from white conceptual paradigms; Kgotsitsile is also missing the point because he is coming from an Apartheid background which was ruthless to anything Black.

Suffices to say that Mveng did not only celebrate Blackness; he actually laid down the matrix of the African Liberation Theology as well as the African Liberation Creativity in the Arts and Culture, and in the promotion of African indigenous knowledge and technology which he practiced very vigorously and pragmatically in all his works throughout his life time.



Photos 295 (a) & (b): Wole Soyinka: July 13, 1934 –

When Wole Soyinka criticised Negritude, he forgets that it was influenced by the Nardal Sisters' translation of the New Negroe of Marcus Garvey and Hubert Henry Humphrey who coined the word to suit the new awareness of Black people in America. The Cotton Club and literary renaissance of the Black People of America were interested in asserting what was Black before going for the onslaught.

The Blacks of Negritude were not really fighting a counter-war of destroying Whiteness. They were just interested in showing the White culture that one could not talk of White Culture without referring to its counterpart and original source which was Black; just as it is said that at the beginning was the Word and Darkness was the first embodiment which embedded the

Universe before Light was created from God's Fiat.

That explains why Jean Paul Sartre in *Black Orpheus* was able to realise and declare that actually Blackness or Negritude was all at once the androgenous phallus as well as the nurturing matrix on which Whiteness and Whitude was generated, gestated and grew from.

It is from this background of complementarity and interpenetration of the Black and White Cultures that the French-African groomed intelligentsia pursued Negritude as a Humanising Philosophy of Non-Violence as against the Pro-Marxist Philosophy of Permanent Violence and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat against the Imperialist Oppressor. That is what differentiates the Leopold Sedar Senghorian Negritudean approach to the Wole Soyinkan Tigritudian approach.

And if Africans should become Tigers in their quest to assert their rights, they must remember that the end of all fight is restore the Humanism of all peoples, Masters and Slaves together without bitterness.

The Tigritudinity of Pan Africanism was nursed by the Marxist Revolutionary Philosophy, embraced and practiced by Russia at the time of the emergence of Pan Africanism as a World Human Liberation Philosophy.

This is how the Comintern succeeded in recruiting and sponsoring adepts both in the English and French colonies of Africa that saw the creation of the radical Rassemblement Democratique Africain in Bamako – RDA, in 1955, which produced a more virulent and much radical “Union des Populations Camerounais – UPC” which carried the armed revolution of Toussaint l'Ouverture against the colonial indentured slave masters camps and slave drivers enterprises across the tropical rain forests of Africa.

In South Africa the Comintern inspired the anti-Apartheid liberators and sparked off the launching of the African National Congress – ANC, in 1923, which declared for armed revolution against the Apartheid government. Actually the ANC was the offshoot of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) on 8 January 1912 at the Waaihoek Wesleyan Church in Bloemfontein to increase the rights of the black South African people.

The SANNC was the inspiration of Picley Ka Isaka Sema who in 1911 entreated Black people in South Africa to “...*Forget all the past differences among Africans and unite in one national organisation.*” This clarion call bore fruits as it saw the creation of the ANC in 1912. In the same year the Government of the Union of South Africa was formed and began a systematic oppression of black people in South Africa. The Land Act was promulgated in 1913, according to Gareth Evans, (International Crisis Group, 2000) and evicted many Blacks Africans out of their native lands. While the 1936 South African Native Trust

and Land Act made it impossible for Black people in South Africa to purchase land even in the reserves. Recounting the plight of Black people in Apartheid South Africa, Gareth Evans admits that:

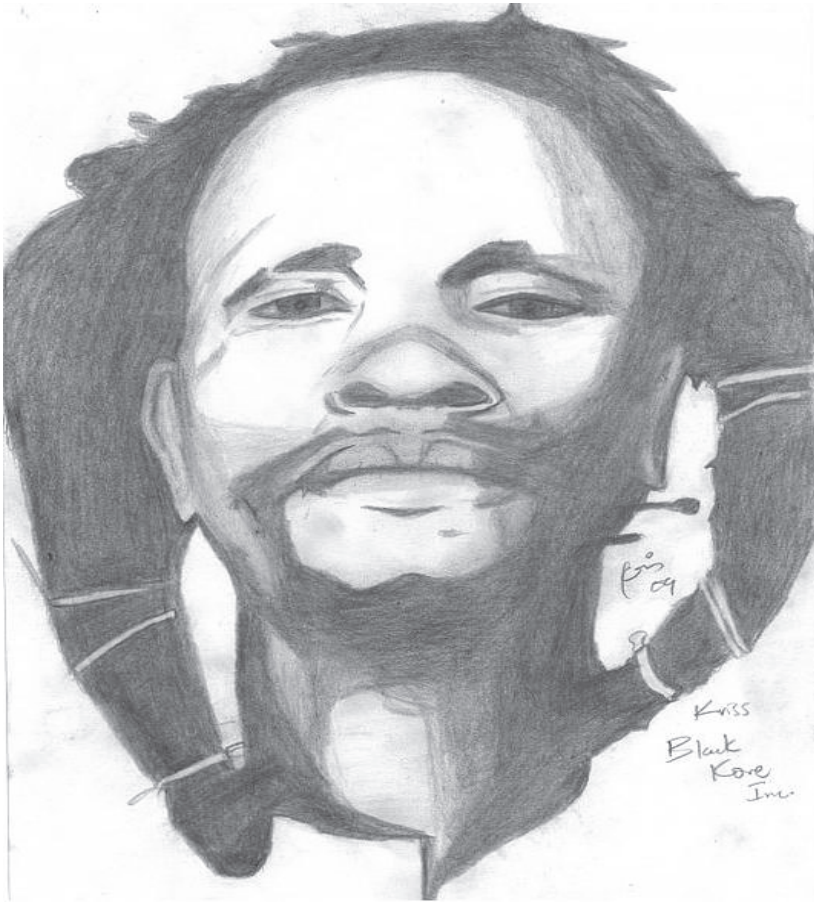
“They were forced to use land administered by tribal authorities appointed by the white government. The process of dispossession did not end with the creation of reserves (and homelands). Between 1950 and 1980 an additional 1.4 million Blacks were evicted from their indigenous land to make room for White farmers thus...forcing many non-whites from their farms into the cities and towns to work and to restrict their movement within South Africa.”

To gain back their rights to their native lands and assert their freedom, the ANC later created the armed revolutionary wing in 1961 which became the military wing named the Umkhonto we Sizwe, meaning: Spear of the Nation. The ANC with support from the Comintern and the Organisation of African Unity OAU fought the anti-Apartheid war till 1994 when the rainbow nation was created and Apartheid defeated and outlawed.

15.4. The Impact of The Comintern And China On The Radical Mau-Mau in Kenya And Other Liberation Movements Like Rassemblement Democratique Africain – The RDA In Bamako; and The Union Des Populations Camerounaise – UPC In Cameroun

In Kenya, the Comintern directly or indirectly could be said to have influenced the creation of the Mau-Mau revolutionary movement, initiated between 1950 and 1960. It gave Dedan Kimathi the leader of the Mau-Mau the Toussaint l’Ouverure’s leadership role to overthrow the colonial master and oppressor and oblige him to “get out of Africa”. Actually it is inferred that Mau-Mau is derived from the anagram in Kikuyu “*Uma Uma*,” which means “get out get out”. Thus the transposition became “-maUmaU”.

The British so violently repressed the Mau-Mau rebellion (Wunyabari O. Maloba, 2007) and branded it as a savage, violent, and depraved tribal cult. The British qualified the Mau Mau as an expression of unrestrained emotion rather than reason. They even went as far as saying that Mau Mau was “perverted tribalism” that sought to take the Kikuyu people back to “the bad old days” before British rule.

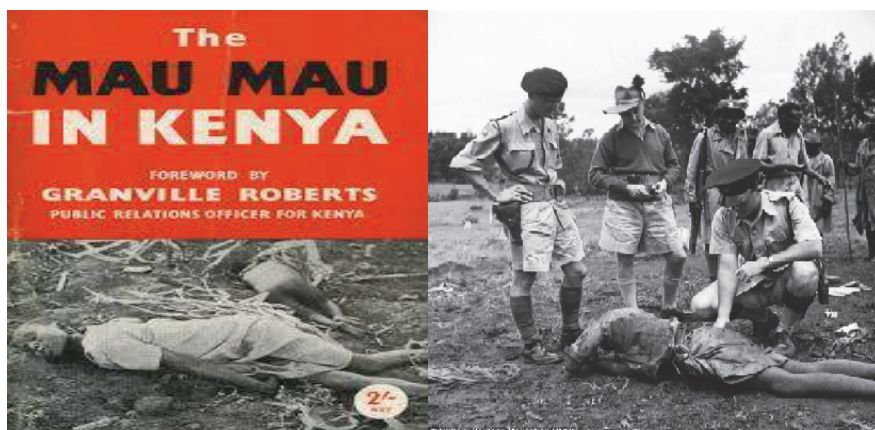


A Painting of Dedan Kimathi the Mau Mau Initiating Leader and Organiser

But the British forgot that before they invaded and settled in Kenya in 1902 as part of Governor Sir Charles Eliot's plan to create a settler economy to activate the Mombasa – Entebbe Uganda railway economy of exploitation and exportation of African natural resources and raw materials, the Kikuyu people were a very organised and independent people. That is why Wunyabari O. Maloba, (2007) explains that:

“After years of being ruled by a king a man named Kenyatta (actually it was Dedan Kimathi originator of the Mau Mau who) felt that all circumcised people should be treated equally whether they were young or old, man or woman. These beliefs were practiced in peace with success for many years before the British invaded and overtook the nation in the early 1930. They imposed a rule over these people by subjecting them to their form of autocratic government. These people had just evolved from that kind of government system and believed their new one was better. These Kikuyu people wanted to have the rights to choose what form of government to demonstrate because they believed

that only they knew what form was best for their people. They did not understand how the British could know what was best for them and control their lives. These things left many Kikuyu people very angry and they knew it was time for a change.”



Photos 207 (a) (b): British Crack Down and atrocities On the Mau Mau



Photos 206 (c) (d): Mau Mau Prisoners in British Nazi Concentration Camps

Following the detailed presentation and analysis of Wunyabari O. Maloba, the Eliot's plan to activate settler economy was accompanied by the seizure of vast Kenyan land and the forcing and reducing of the indigenous people to become the producers of labour capital and wage labourers badly needed for the project. This project saw the confiscation and seizure of 7,000,000 acres, (that is, 28,000 sq km or 11,000 sq mi) of indigenous land from the very fertile hilly regions of Central and Rift Valley Provinces, which later became known as the White Highlands of the settler farmers.



Map 14.1. Logistics Map of Kenya



Photo 207 (a), (b), (c) & (d): Mau Mau Prisoners In British Nazi Concentration Camps; Mau Mau Women Warriors In Training; Dedan Kimathi, Mau Mau founder

Kikuyu Mau-Mau Children-Prisoners in Colonial Prison Camp 3rd December 1952: "Children from the Kikuyu tribe, one of Kenya's most numerous ethnic groups, held in a prison camp during Mau Mau troubles in Kenya. The Mau Mau uprising against British rule was caused primarily by appropriation of land, and although in itself a failure, the rebellion was the catalyst for the eventual independence of Kenya. (Photo by Express/Express/Getty Images)

Even though the Kikuyu people filed a suit to reclaim their illegal seizure and expropriation of their land by the White Settler farmers, the Kenya High Court decision of 1921 cemented its legality.



Photos 208 (a) (b) (c): British War Crimes on the Mau Mau Liberation Fighters

These injustices were noted by the British Government 1925 East Africa Commission which carefully noted that particular note must be taken of the very bad treatment of the Giriama ethnicity from the coastal regions, the Nandi and the Masai as well as the ethnicities in the Kiambu, the Nyeri and Muranga districts who became the largest losers in those land seizure projects

Even though the British Government East African Commission had made a very negative report on land seizure in 1925, the British Government continued its land seizure project in 1933 which saw the land seizure again of over 109.5 square miles (284 km²) of potentially highly valuable land alienated from the indigenous people for the benefit of the White settler communities.

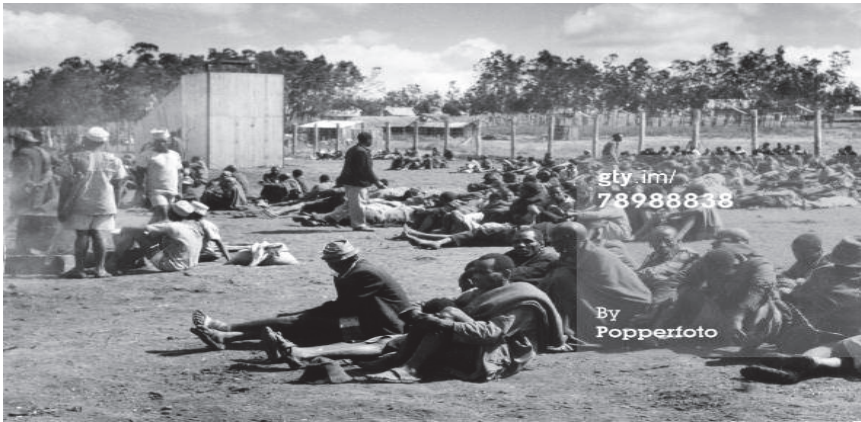


Photo 209: War and Conflict, Mau Mau Uprising, Kenya, East Africa, pic: circa 1953, Suspected Mau Mau terrorists sit in a Concentration camp near Thomson's Falls during the round-up of suspected Mau Mau fighters (Photo by Popperfoto/Getty Images) Date created: 01 Jan 1953

It was within this back drop of reducing many indigenous populations to landless and homeless peoples that the British colonial government succeeded in creating the stringent poverty conditions which forced African populations to submit to forced labour and cheap labour, and later reduced them to wage labourers.

These stringent living conditions were fortified by the imposed laws which forced the indigenous people into this system of indentured slavery created in the heart of Africa itself for the enhancement of the livelihood of the Whiteman.

To achieve the indentured slavery conditions the British government introduced the systematic discriminatory laws which included:

- the introduction of the Hut and Poll Taxes of 1901 and 1910 respectively;
- the establishment of reserves for each ethnic group, serving to isolate each ethnic group and exacerbate overcrowding;
- the discouragement of African's growing cash crops;
- the Masters and Servants Ordinance (1906) and an identification pass known as the *kipande* (1918) to control the movement of labour and to curb desertion;
- and the exemption of wage labourers from forced labour and other compulsory, detested tasks such as conscription.



Photo 210: War and Conflict, Mau Mau Human and Animal Rights Abuse by the British Colonial Administration which Imprisoned Kikuyu Cattle and Starving them, Separated from their owners whose livelihoods depended on the Cattle.

Date created: 01 Jan 1953; Source: <http://www.gettyimages.com>

This is the reason Wunyabari O. Maloba, when on analysing the rise of the Mau Mau movement states that, without doubt, the Mau Mau should be considered as one of the most important events in recent African history, and the history of Pan Africanism, he is only reiterating the vision of the founding Fathers of Pan Africanism: to liberate Africa and African people from the shackles of colonisation and indentured slavery, the establishment of freedom and good governance, for the sustainable development of the continent and its people.

One very crucial aspect of the history of Pan Africanism that has been ignored by African historians and Pan Africanists is the tremendous central role played by the Comintern in the liberation of Africa.

It can be hypothesised here that had Comintern not got involved as early as 1920 in the liberation project of Africa, which was accentuated during the Cold War period, which also introduced the Marxist perspective of analysis of the African material history situation, Africa would not have undertaken its liberation process as early as it did.



Photo 211 Monument Of Dedan Kimathi The Brave Founder Of The Mau Mau Movement

The reason is that the Western Allied powers, that is, Western Europe and its mentor the USA, would not have thought it necessary to hasten the liberation of colonial Africa, the milking cow of Western liberal slave-driven capitalism.

Just as many historians on Africa, fail to pay tribute to the great efforts made by Fidel Castro, and the Cuban army in Angola and Namibia, for the support of the Freedom Fighters that saw Angola take its stand against the American CIA sponsorship and the Apartheid South African logistics support of UNITA of Jonas Savimbi; and the Cuban military support of Sam Nujoma's led South West Africa's Peoples Organisation – SWAPO, and to some extent the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* - FRELIMO, also known as the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, which initiated an armed campaign against Portuguese colonial rule in September 1964.

FRELIMO finally won the liberation fight and achievement of independence in 1975 with Samora Machel as first President. All these Liberation Movements attained their objectives of liberation through the military and logistics contributions of Comintern and Fidel Castro's Cuba. This is also true of the role of the Comintern in the liberation of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde.

It is very true that the Apartheid regime in South Africa would not have fallen very easily if Angola and South West Africa and Mozambique were not liberated. And it is thanks to the Comintern and commitment of Cuba in Africa that Apartheid South Africa was quarantined after the success story of the liberation of Angola, South West Africa and Mozambique.

It would seem very true that Pan Africanism cannot celebrate any victory that would not include the efforts and contributions of Comintern and Russia as well as Cuba and China in the geo-strategic process of its development.

But the critical question is why should Russia, and Cuba who were greater players than China in the geo-strategic upbuilding of Freedom, Governance and Development of Africa through Pan Africanism, become outsiders and less interested protagonists and genuine partners for Africa's sustainable Development today?

How is it that China who played quite a much milder role and investment in the liberation of Africa as compared to the contributions of Russia, and Cuba become the champion for African Foreign Direct Investments - FDIs, Commerce, Governance and Development today?

Is it because African leaders since independence have dropped their diplomatic and development cooperation with Russia and Cuba, and turned towards the Western Powers, especially the USA, who, like in the case of Angola, and in all other post-colonial African countries, contributed to the colonisation and exploitation of Africa by Western liberal capitalist systems and consortia.

It could not be due the difference in the system of governance. China, like Russia and Cuba has the same systems of "totalitarian democracies". But China and Russia, and now Cuba, are already developing higher gains and growth since they adopted the capitalist economy, even though not as liberal slave-driven and exploitative like the Western liberal capitalist system.

It is true that with Kwame Nkrumah Pan Africanism took a very progressist approach to African Liberation, Freedom, Governance and Development. Immediately after independence of Ghana, Nkrumah decided to place Ghana as the point of reference and role model for African colonised countries. Had Nkrumah achieved his goals, would Africa be more developed than it is today? Would there not still be poverty, seen that to industrialise and cooperate in the Global market and economy Africa would have still resorted to cheap labour and the exploitation of the Human Resources like in the capitalist world. When one realizes the breakdown in the political leadership of Africa, would one not say that Nkrumah was after all very right when he admonished that:

“Seek Ye the Political Kingdom and All Things Shall Be Granted Unto You?”

That explains why Nkrumah, from 1957 to 1961, organised the All African People Congress – AAPC, the first in Accra, Ghana in 1958, second in Tunis, Tunisia in 1960, and third in Cairo, Egypt in 1961.

The various AAPC were meant to prepare the way for the launching of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU. The choice of Tunis and Cairo was deliberate because Habib Bourguiba and Abdel Nasser, had demonstrated their dogged fight against colonialism and the promotion of freedom, governance and development of Africa’s sovereignty spirit for the fostering of Pan Africanism.

As I stated before in the previous chapters, the launching of the OAU in 1963 was a comedy of errors between the various players with regard to their knowledge and commitment to the spirit of Pan Africanism, which reduced the OAU options in ideological set up to a “no match” situation with regard to the original vision of Pan Africanism.

I was able to show how there was a breakdown which created the ideological differences between the Casablanca group and the Monrovia group with regard to the very ambitious vision of Kwame Nkrumah for the creation of the United States of Africa.

But we realise that despite the original handicap of the founding fathers to come up with the United States of Africa, the OAU succeeded in investing for the liberation of the rest of Africa under colonisation.

Even though this programme succeeded in ousting colonialism in Africa, it fell short of creating a common new vision and framework for the governance and sustainable development of Africa.

Instead Africa was caught up with the ideological Cold War between the Western Capitalist countries and the Eastern Communist countries. This had its toll on Africa’s reconstruction of a precise focus and common platform and time frame in its project for governance and sustainable development.

The fact that the OAU adopted the Monrovia group’s ideology on regionalisation of Africa politically and economically, made it impossible for Africa to design and accept a common governance and development platform; instead it helped polarise the OAU and Africa in general.

This polarisation contributed to the hotchpotches of sporadic “ad hoc” projects that were designed by different African leaders like Nyerere on what was called “Ujamaa” labelled “African Socialism” which actually was tailored on the Chinese Mao-Tse Tung’s old cloth design.

Sékou Touré's Communist Russia's option was more of a marriage of convenience than a well thought out programme for governance and sustainable development based on the African long term indigenous knowledge and technology governance and sustainable developmental needs-driven assessment and inspiration. Actually Sékou Touré was among the first to abolish the indigenous knowledge and technology of governance based on the age old institution of traditional Chiefs, rulers and leadership construct.

Mathieu Kerekou' flair for Communist mouth wash slogans of "Camarade, prêt pour la révolution," "Comrade, ready for the revolution," did not make it clear as to what precise revolution Benin was heading for.

We can therefore understand why all the subsequent victories against colonialism coming from the various "Liberation Movements," whether with mild or radical Communist inclinations and decorations, like Angola, South West Africa, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, did not have any common focal governance and development policy and programme to show.

That explains the tottering of OAU ideological machine which seemed to have come to a halt without any innovative ideas for governance and development.

This could show ostentatiously on the political field where Africa was ruled by despots and autocrats; on the economic field Africa carried the flag of the most corrupt nations of the world; on the developmental platform African countries were producing the most highly indebted poor countries of the world.

Actually, as Akum Fomum (1992) remarked, it always takes two to be corrupt: the corrupter and the corrupted. And most of the Africans who are corrupt today were taught corruption both by the African and the Western American and European business and public diplomatic world. And this is still going on today, when African leaders and some heads of State are being bribed into signing dubious deals with foreign corporations and institutions, for their private interests and those of their immediate and extended families.

It is a known fact that the corruption-driven strategies have always been used by local and especially foreign leaders and corporations to influence policy and decision-making in Africa and some parts of the developing world. This has been common when the strategic geo-political spaces and the geo-economic and military influence of the Super-Powers is challenged and is falling apart.

It was at this juncture where a new ideological Messiah for Pan Africanism was born, in the person of Muammar Gaddafi, who initiated the launching of the African Union, at his birth place of Sirte, Libya.

But the innovative dream of Muammar Gaddafi for a more united and vibrant African Union was dashed to the rocks because Gaddafi met with his assassination from the hands of Western liberal economist powers and the NATO Allied genocidal forces, in the name of Democracy.

And the very disquieting questions to ask are:

- Whither Africa, now that the leadership prospects are shattered?
- What innovative ideology and action plan should Africa adopt toward its sustainable governance and development?

Should Africa not make more pro-active the inclusion of the African Diaspora in Europe, North America, Meso-America and South America even in South East Asia and the Pacifics, Papua New Guinea, Caledonia and Australia in its policy design for governance and sustainable development? The bare-faced Truth today is that the World is ruled by the White Economic and Political Power based on this Global Network where the world has become a Mirror that permits the Whiteman and the White Culture to see itself everywhere he/she goes in the universe and especially on the Planet-Earth.

Should Africa in foreign geostrategic policy remain tied to the apron strings of the West and not vigorously strengthen its ties with Russia, China, Japan, India, Korea, the South East Asian countries?

Should Africa allow the American African Command – AFRICOM, install its military base in Africa, instead of Africa developing its own military strength, and including its Eastern allies like Russia and China?

This also goes with education: Should Africa stimulate only its Western brain cells as it has done for the past centuries of slavery, colonialism, imperialism and deprivation, by relying only to Western epistemology and means of acquiring knowledge for its own development?

Or, should Africa also use its Eastern brain cells and explore also the ancient and modern philosophies of Bagavagita, Bhudda, Lao Tse, Confucius and combine the dynamism of the Eastern Tigers and Dragons of sustainable development?

Why is it that in African Schools and Universities, Africans can only learn about Western Philosophers and Researchers and never the Eastern Philosophers and Researchers in the modern 21st Century of Globalisation?

Long time ago it was Made in Japan and “Japanese Hand Break” that was anathema to consumers addicted to Western products “Made in Germany, Italy, France, Great Britain, USA.” Just as today it is “Made in China and Korea” that is making headlines of anathema from the Western industries that are suddenly overtaken by China and India in the Information Technology and

Artificial Intelligence Epistemology, Architecture, Civil Engineering and Technology.

So can Africa learn from these exploits and resilience of the East in fostering its cultural heritage and learning from the Eastern Wisdom on how to transform the wealth of Africa in a more sustainable manner to serve the interest of the African people and continent first and foremost, and not the interest of the imperialist West?

How can the West after five hundred years of exploiting and destroying Africa through Slavery and Colonisation and the development of Poverty, be the one to turn round today to accuse China for exploiting Africa?

Within a short time, say in less than 30 years that China has been in Africa, China has built more schools, hospitals, hydro-electric dams, macadamized highways, than Europe and America in 500 years built in Africa which they have systematically exploited.

So what is the way forward for Africa today?

What is the new blue print for the New Wave of Pan-Africanism today?

Is it not time for the New Wave of Pan Africanism to adopt the “Revolutionary Pan Africanism” proposed by Muammar Gaddafi to finally emancipate Africa from the apron strings of Western Military imperialism?

From Western Monetary imperialism?

From Western Technological imperialism?

From Western Information Technology imperialism?

From Western Cultural Imperialism?

15.5. The Need For A Revolutionary Pan-Africanism Of African Peoples Integration For Sustainable Development

When Nelson Mandela became President of defunct Apartheid South Africa, after 27 years in the colonial and imperialist prison of the Western Powers, he challenged the Organisation of African Unity – OAU for adopting a clause of “Non-Interference in the internal affairs of African States.”

This was not different from the “Pigeon-Hole-States” Africa was creating from the inspiration of Western imperialism that also propounded on the “Uti possedetis Jus” of the United Nations Charter for maintaining Western Imperialism in Africa, regarding the “Pigeon-Hole-Sovereignty” and “Pigeon-Hole-Independence” the West was proposing to Africa, in order to continue with its colonial arbitrary “Divide and Rule Policy” and Colonialism through the back door in Africa.

For Nelson Mandela, the OAU in upholding this clause of “Non-interference in the internal affairs of African sister States,” was not different from the 27 seven years of his imperialistic prison in Apartheid South Africa.

This is because Mandela took seriously and believed in the theory of Walter Rodney who said that:

“One of the cardinal principles of Pan-Africanism is that the people from one part of Africa are responsible for their brothers and sisters in other parts of Africa, indeed, black people in all parts of the world are to share in this responsibility.”

This explains fully the reason why the New Wave of Pan Africanism, through some more revolutionary-thinking-and-driven leadership like the Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and the revolutionary mix of Muammar Gaddafi, who had grown wiser and stronger in his revolution against Western imperialism, adopted the New Wave of transforming the OAU into the African Union, and to move away from the neo-colonial era of “Non-interference”.

The African Union was the New Wave of the spirit of African Renaissance, where the New Spirit of Pan Africanism is the obligation for every African to become her or his brother’s and sister’s keeper wherever they may be and whenever possible and necessary.

It could be said that this New Wave was the revisiting of Julius Nyerere’s Ujamaa (1962) of African socialism and communalism, where he said that:

“In traditional African communalism there was no loiterer, no beggar. The individual took care of the community and the community took care of the individual. And the spirit was I am because we are.”

Today the African Renaissance spirit is cast in what Desmond Tutu and Mandela would like to call “UBUNTU-UBUNTU” which poses the question and endeavour of integration of African peoples in the continent and the Diaspora.

On discussing on the future of Pan Africanism and Women’s Rights in the Sudan (2002) the situation of the integration of women as the backbone of Pan Africanism, which in the past has been very masculine, patriarchal and domineering was raised as essential to this spirit of “UBUNTU-UBUNTU” as it went on to highlight:

“The twenty-first Century calls for a rebirth of Africa, through what we call, UBUNTU. UBUNTU is the philosophical concept, which, is in all parts of Africa. In every African language, there is a word for this concept. In East African Kiswahili, it is called utu. There is no translation for this word, but, you can variously call it reconciliation, willingness to share, truth and love. We can distinguish between UBUNTU that is coming from the people and the New African Partnership for Development, which is coming from the African leaders, which is called NEPAD. Some of us call it kneepad, because, they go begging on their knees from Europe. We call that begging: Neo-Liberal-Pan-Africanism, because, it is not Pan-Africanism that is coming from the people. But, out of this struggle (to create the African Union) , we have the voices of the African people being raised, where we have the struggles of the African Union to ratify the clause aimed at ending discrimination against women.”

Talking about the need for people-driven and grassroots orientation of the New Wave Pan Africanism, to save Africans of the present and future the “Kneepad” bowl-in-hand development that the neo-liberalist West has subjected Africa to, Lang T.K.A. Nubuor, (2013) makes a critical analysis of what he calls “Sustaining the Wave of Revolutionary Pan Africanism” when reviewing the new book entitled: *‘Sustaining the New Wave of Pan-Africanism’*.

In critiquing the idea of the Revolutionary Pan Africanism as concerned more with the geographical space of Africa, which he calls “Continentalism”; Lang T.K.A. Nubuor explains that this neglects the African person and African personality, as the centre-piece of all liberation and unification process. And this neglect has contributed to more effort being put in the replacement of the neo-colonial state. He lashes out on this theory, insisting that:

“This explains the concerted direct and tangential attacks on what is stated as Continentalism and attributing it in the main to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the leading proponent of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism. To launch such attacks successfully, Continentalism is briefly presented as a commitment to Africa’s geographical space to the neglect of the African person as the centre of the liberation and unification process. In this way, attention is diverted from the basic proposition of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism that the neo-colonial states must be replaced. Replacement of these states is not presented as one that replicates the balkanization of Africa in a new form but rather one that presents the continent with a single state upon the abolition of the neo-colonial states. Revolutionary Pan-Africanism projects this liberation and unification of Africans on continental Africa as the condition for the liberation and unification of

Africans everywhere. The statement to this effect is found in Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's book The Spectre of Black Power."

Lang T.K.A. Nubuor, (2013) further explains how Revolutionary Pan-Africanism also includes the notion of the African Personality which solicits the recovery of "African Cultural Heritage". Still highlighting on Nkrumah's philosophy of Consciencism which insists on FREEDOM as the basis of all cultural appreciation and development, he shows how this theory of political emancipation of Africa is pertinent and precedes cultural acquisition.

But I realise that our noble friend Lang T.K.A. Nubuor is mixing up the idea of "CONTINENTALISM" which has various perceptions and interpretations, namely:

- *"Continentalism" as seen by the tenets of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, as the total liberation of the Geographical space and the people therein, which Amilcar Cabral identifies as the organisation, bringing together and coordinating the "Productive Forces" of the geographical space; then*

- *"Continentalism" as projected by the realists and Scientifics like Cheikh Anta Diop, who saw it as the redefining the African contributions to Human Knowledge and Civilisation, with ancient Nubian-Egypt as the axis of this epistemological development; and of the "Cultural Unity of Africa" and the dynamic mobility of the people of Africa; and further*

- *"Continentalism" as perceived by the innovative and the reconstructive African Diaspora, initiators of the "Harlem Renaissance" as the arm of FREEDOM to fight slavery, racism, discrimination, suppression and deprivation of Black people of America and Africa; then finally*

- *"Continentalism" as seen by the tenets of "Negritude" and the surrealists who like the initiators of "Harlem Renaissance" were concerned with the reconstruction of the African contribution to world knowledge, the culture and history of humanity*

- *"Continentalism" as the idea of the "Africa Personality" as projected by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, was intended to uplift and highlight the idea of Freedom of the African person as centre piece for all liberation projects. Actually the "African Personality" was intended to reconstruct the African Mind and liberate Africa from the Mental Slavery Thirteen Hundred Years of Slavery had subjected the African to, to the point where the African denied himself as a person, his cultural heritage and civilisation, to monkey-mimic the Whiteman's Culture, the Whiteman's Civilisation."*

It is only with this historical holistic understanding that we can appreciate the efforts made by Lang T.K.A. Nubuor in his critique on New Wave Pan-

Africanism and what he calls the Resistance to the Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, when he says:

“As part of the definition of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, African Personality is pursued in an African Renaissance through the simultaneous recovery of the African cultural heritage. In fact, in Consciencism (page 4) Dr. Nkrumah explains that cultural acquisition becomes valuable only when it is appreciated by free men. The political emancipation of the African cannot, therefore, await but precede African cultural acquisition, even if not pursued simultaneously. His personal efforts in this respect are today represented by his establishment of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana. Hence, so-called Continentalism is an invention by those who assert pre-occupation with the cultural movement as the pre-requisite for the political liberation and unification of Africa and therefore do not only put the cart before the horse but more significantly freeze the pursuit of African emancipation and unification. And without doubt, they are actuated by nothing more or less than either their closeness to those in control of neo-colonial power or are, in fact, directly exercising that power. This explains why not a single paper is presented at the Workshop for a full representation of the point of view of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism.”

But credit must be given to Lang T.K.A. Nubuor for raising the idea of the sclerotic Pan-Africanism where the youths and the masses are diametrically excluded from the policies and debates about Pan-Africanism today just as women were relegated to background of Pan Africanism policies and debates.

He rejoins Kwame Nkrumah and Amilcar Cabral in this theory of people-driven and masses-driven Pan-Africanism of harnessing the Productive Forces for Africa's project of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. When he advocates for inclusion of the youths and the masses, as well as for transparency and bottom-top management of Pan-Africanism and the African Union today, he is hitting the nail the head and at the right time and the right spot when he advocates:

“The youth of Namibia take notice of this political manipulation at the Workshop and as such issue a thinly veiled protest ‘That elders give due support and advice to the youth without seeking to impose themselves, their viewpoints and/or partisan political agenda’. They reveal their dissatisfaction with their alienation from the processes leading to the organization of the Workshop in these set terms: ‘That there should always be openness, transparency and integration of ideas in program creation and formulation’. And most importantly, echoing the mass-based approaches of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, they also insist ‘That for there to be effective and properly representative

results of such fora there should be broad based approaches which are rooted in the masses'. So that what takes place at the University of Namibia in December 6-9, 2010 is not an event sustaining any new wave of Pan-Africanism. It is the resurrection of the decades-old resistance of cultural movements to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, which finally re-crystallized as mass-based Pan-Africanism. What is new about it is its change of name – from Negritude to Sankofa. Without their calling it by its only name 'Revolutionary Pan-Africanism', the Sankofa movement invents a new name for it 'Continentalism' which it then defines to disadvantage and in distortion. And as can be seen the awakened Namibian youth see through the subterfuge. No, what we are seeing is not 'Sustaining the New Wave of Pan-Africanism' but 'Sustaining the Resistance to Revolutionary Pan-Africanism'."

15.6. The New Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism And The Enhancement Of Women's Leadership

Talking about discrimination against women, the New Wave Pan Africanism of the African Union, Africa has to shed much of those heritages from the Judeo-Christian and the Semitic-Arabic-Islamic heritage, which for long have worked against the classical traditional African philosophy of gender complementarity.

The truth is that although women have always called the shots as the makers and shakers of Pan Africanism right from its conception and its evolution, as I have tried to document on the Diaspora women and women on the African continent, they were never celebrated as the men were.

But it is pathetic that due to this mentality of hyper-masculinity and hyper-patriarchy inherited for the European Judeo-Christian and Semitic Arabic-Islamic cultures, women have been relegated for a very long time behind the scenes of Pan African leadership; especially when it comes to decision making, management and implementation.

Bonita Harris (1996) raises the issue of the neglect of women's leadership and the fostering of women's rights in Pan Africanism which has contributed to the failure of Pan Africanism to develop an effective task force to handle its fundamental problem of sustainable development. She levels a scathing accusation of neglect of women by the hyper masculine and patriarchal Pan-Africanism when she documents and analyses the pit falls saying:

"African women are taking the leadership on the question of Pan-Africanism. African women are taking the lead in critiquing male centred Pan-Africanism. As one of my sisters in Guyana said when we mentioned that we were Pan-Africanist __where

have you been when we are talking about the struggles and the violation of women? Where have you been when we talk about rape and the other aspects of gender oppression? So when we said hello, that's how she started her article — where have you been? So, how do you implicate masculinity, patriarchy and Dodaism in the Pan-African movement?"

Bonita Harris' critique on the hyper-masculine Pan-Africanism brings to light the need of the "productive forces" in all successful revolutions as elicited by Amilcar Cabral.

In Africa the backbone of the "productive forces" are the women, followed by the youths. Today Africa, with regard to demographic resources, is the fastest growing continent in the world today, with 70% of the population being young and youthful.

Africa thus has one of the most dynamic productive forces of tomorrow that needs to be harnessed judiciously and scientifically through education and cultural emancipation and the inculcation of the sense and spirit of initiative, creativity and entrepreneurship.

In order for Africa to harness and engage its working and productive forces in the creation of that sustainable development revolution for the Africa of tomorrow, Africa must hone the knowledge of its youthful productive forces on how to sustainably manage the natural environment for its sustainable development.

This therefore calls for the need for a sustainable eco-systemic education for African children to raise their consciousness about the vital need to maintain the bio-diversity of Africa and stop the destruction that the Semitic Arabic colonisers and the Western capitalist corporations have contributed to the devastation of Africa for fourteen hundred years; and today the Chinese corporations are beginning to have their share; and they would do the same if no restraint is made to bear on the manner they exploit Africa's natural resources and mineral wealth.

This means that every child today who calls herself or himself African no matter their origin, race or religion, must be taught of the errors of the past and how to reconstruct the sustainable Africa for tomorrow.

Africa is blessed with the "Continentalism" of all humanity as Desmond Tutu well says that the other races are going back to their roots by living or coming back to Africa. Wherefore Africa should take this opportunity to use these new comers and teach them how to become more African and sustain African bio-diversity and not destroy it as their ancestors had done.

But care should be taken here with a caveat that must be made to bear on Pan-Africanists. When mention is made condemning the atrocities the Africans have suffered from the hands of the Semitic Arab and Muslim colonizers as well as from the Judeo-Christian liberal capitalist Europeans, this does not mean that Africans should develop a hate-driven policy against the Arabs and the European settlers in Africa. Just like in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which brought the post-Apartheid beneficiaries of Afrikaans, the Afrikaner Boederbond and the losers who were the native Black South Africans, was intended to bring forgiveness and peace among South Africans, who are condemned to live together and respect the rights of every South African; so also the recalling of the atrocities committed by the Jews, the Arabs and Europeans on Africans and in the destruction of the African natural environment, calls for an ongoing Peace and Reconciliation Commission of Pan-Africanism.

This means that the European, the Jew and Arab colonizers and settlers in Africa must bear in mind that they owe respect and compensation to the Black African people of Africa and their Identity and Personality as a People with their own sense of Pride and Dignity.

There is no bartering in this except that the African demands that all African people live in peace and in mutual respect irrespective of their race, religion and preferences and ideologies.

But African Unity and Pan-Africanism should not be interpreted to mean that when there is injustice and bad governance, and even repression and exploitation of one African community by another, we should swallow the bait and stifle the fight for self-determination of oppressed peoples in the name of sustaining Pan-Africanism.

The case of Eritrea and Southern Sudan, and even Southern Cameroons are test cases for African Unity and Pan-Africanism. There should be no reason why any African child, woman or man should suffer and die in silence because of a bogus Pan-Africanism where only the Strong and Powerful would suppress the voiceless and the weak.

That explains why I take this commentary by the Civil Forum of Sudan Conference, Women's Rights in the Sudan Agenda for the Future, (2002) with a lot of <http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/Sudan/Kampala2002.html>: reservation when we are called to reflect on the situation of Southern Sudan. The truth is that the secession of Southern Sudan from Sudan does not jeopardise in any way Pan-Africanism and African Unity. Instead it brings into full perspective the need for all Africans to respect each other man and

woman, children and parents, youths and old. Wherefore I beg to read between the lines of this commentary with a very critical eye:

“In July of this year, John Garang, the leader of the Sudanese Peoples Liberation movement was killed in a plane crash. John Garang was associated with Walter Rodney, because, he was a member of the Dar es Salaam school. In many senses, Garang is the last of those leaders that came out of Dar es Salaam, with a tradition of fighting for liberation. Not only fighting for liberation, but, the unity of Africa and the unity of the Sudan. Within the Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement (S.P.L.M) and the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army (S.P.L.A), Garang was opposed by members of the Southern Sudanese moment, who felt that the only way to go forward in the Sudan was through a division of the North from the South. This matter is now an open question, whether in the referendum in six years time, there will be a vote for a South that is separated from the North. This question of the Sudan is important for the Pan-African world, because, the danger is that there is an intense campaign by sections of the imperialist world about Arab slave trade and Islamic domination of Africa. This imperialist initiative will prevent the kind of discussion that we should have about how Pan-Africanism should relate to the questions of peace in the Sudan and ending genocide in Darfur. The African women of the Sudan are charting a different course. They are saying that whether we are from Darfur, whether from the Nuba Mountains, whether from Khartoum or from the South, we have the same interest in ending violence, in ensuring that we have basic dignity and the right to life. And we can share the documents that came out of the meeting in Kampala, where these statements were made with you. 15 One of the lessons that we can learn in the Pan-African struggles for liberation can be taken from the struggles of the women of the Sudan.”

This means that the New African must be inculcated with the ideas of Walter Rodney who upheld that: *“Pan-Africanism must involve transformation of the environment, while making a break with imperialism and forming African political and economic unity.”*

According to Walter Rodney, the transformation of the natural and artificial environment and making a break with imperialism to form the African political and economic unity are so dialectically related that this effort *“can only be carried out through the leadership of the working classes.”*

We realise that the African woman forms the bulwark of these productive forces of the marginalized “working classes” that from time immemorial are gifted with the sustainable exploitation, management and sustainable maintenance of the natural environment; through the rational exploitation of non-timber forest products and non-timber savannah-forest products.

Wherefore, if women were fully integrated in the leadership roles for decision making and the transformation of the natural and artificial environment, then Africa would have integrated one of the most important productive forces and human resources for its sustainable development.

This also means that Africa should unite to solve the problem of the poverty the African people have been subjected to for thirteen hundred years of Slavery, deprivation and exploitation for the liberal capitalist interests that foisted the interest and needs of her people.

That explains why South Africa is criticized for trying to solve the problems of Europe instead of thinking of how to solve the problems of poverty African people are facing today. This is what the Civil Forum of Sudan Conference, Women's Rights in the Sudan: Agenda for the Future, (2002) is condemning South Africa for its development policy which is geared more on serving Europe first to make money, but does not serve the <http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/Sudan/Kampala2002.html> interest of the African people to come out of induced poverty:

"I want to show you this map, to show you an example of Neo-Liberal-Pan-Africanism in action (speaker points to map of the planned grid to sell electricity from the Inga Dam in the Congo to Western Europe). This map is symbolic of Neo-Liberal-Pan-Africanism as expressed through the plans of the South African government. The South African government plans to harness the resources at a place called the Inga Dam, which is located on the Congo River. Within this dam is located more than thirty percent of the world's hydroelectric resource. The South African government plan to sell the hydroelectric power from the Congo, using power lines that goes right over the heads of the African people, into Europe. This plan of capital shows that they are more concerned with how to make profits, than planning for the people. We would say that from our point of view, Pan-Africanism in the twenty-first Century is equal to peace and the electrification of the African continent."

15.7. Strategies For Making Ubuntu A Pragmatic Integration Of African People For A Pragmatic Continentalism

The problems Pan-Africanism is facing today are multiple which Africa and the African Union must work hard to surmount in a New Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism.

The Lost Ubuntu Outreach

UBUNTU-UBUNTU appears to be the most crucial issue on which the others like changing the cultural mind-set of Africans, the identity issue, the transportation, the logistics, the communication and cultural and economic exchanges are related.

Talking about the well branded word UBUNTU which, like UJAMAA, expresses the African Bantu philosophy of integration of peoples, it would appear that South Africa has done very little to promote this African humanist concept and moral philosophy beyond South Africa to embrace the entire people of Africa.

One can appreciate the beauty of this moral philosophical concept of UBUNTU from the explanation Mechthild Nagel (2008) tries to give us when she says:

“Ubuntu is very difficult to render into a Western language. It speaks to the very essence of being human. When you want to give high praise to someone we say, ‘Yu, u Nobuntu’; he or she has Ubuntu. This means that they are generous, hospitable, friendly, caring and compassionate. They share what they have. It also means that my humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in theirs. We belong in a bundle of life. We say, ‘a person is a person through other people’ (in Xhosa Ubuntu ungamntu ngabanye abantu and in Zulu Umuntu ngumuntu ngabanye). I am human because I belong, I participate, and I share. A person with Ubuntu is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good; for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes with knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are.”

The concept of UBUNTU is not different from the Chamba-Tadkon political and moral philosophical concept of “NÙÚ-TÙN-BÙN” and “NÙÚ-NKÙ’MÙ-BÙN” (Fongot Kinni, 1989, 1478), which express the “*Collective (Productive) Rights Force of People*” and the “*Integrative Rights of People*”. This Moral Political Philosophical concept in Mùngáàkà, the language of the Ba’ni-Nyonga, which expresses the “*collective rights of people*,” derives from the concept of the “*rights of the individual*” which are considered as fundamental and inalienable to human freedom and wellbeing.

The Chamba-Tadkon Philosophy express these concepts in the phrase which is often repeated to affirm the inalienable rights of individuals when they say: “Mùn bô Nùù-Ntùn,” “*Man is the most important cause to struggle for*”; “*Man is all that counts/matters above all else*”. This means that Human dignity must be

upheld at all cost above everything else. Nobody should put down, repress the dignity of any other person.

In the same manner the Chamba-Tadkon are also used to saying over and over that “*Mùn wú’ bô nì Bùn,*” “*Man is great only because he is related to people.*” This is intended to remind the individual that no person can live isolated and cultivate only his/her individualism. Which is to say that individuals must learn to integrate other people into their individuality to project this greatness in everybody. And this concept is never used on a racial basis or racial connotation. For the concept of the human being is universal and artificially fits any human being as it is never taken from the biological context when the Chamba-Tadkon talks of family or ethnicity.

This is the way Africans understand UBUNTU. And it was this understanding that people of African origin created the solidarity with their enslaved and suppressed brothers and sisters in colonial Africa, in Apartheid South Africa, to help them fight to overthrow the oppressor.

But South Africa has failed woefully in its UBUNTU theory because it did not prevent the (Fongot Kinni, 2008) xenophobic outbreak and onslaught against other African peoples from other regions. This xenophobic outbreak urged me to write (Fongot Kinni, 2008) against this South African rising negative syndrome in the This Day issue of 11th July 2008 on “Another Look at Xenophobia,” where I condemn the attitude of young South Africans who forget so quickly to connect with the rest of Africa:

“Many young South Africans who are advocating for their Americanism, and looking down on the rest of Africa and Africans they identify as skewed up unwanted immigrants, are ignorant of the socio-historical facts that when most of their kin were unwanted in the western countries, Africa gave them the humanely needed refuge, shelter, education and food without even asking them to “wash their hands first” before eating. Africans never complained that their taxpayers’ money and money derived from their natural resources was used to fund “Liberation fighters’ Movements” in Southern Africa for thirty years. They kept the flame of solidarity with Southern Africa burning because they believed they all had a common destiny. Young South Africans today are never told the truth that when some of their liberators, political and opinion leaders like Miriam Makeba, that African Diva who was smart to transform her voice and music into a mighty Liberation weapon, which later inspired the Vietnam War protest singers in Europe and America; who was finally declared “persona non grata” because she was not only contented to criticise the Apartheid regime of South Africa, but also dared to speak out against the racism and Apartheid meted on the Black people of America; Africa gave her refuge for over twenty years before she could return to South Africa.

When America and Americanised Europe refused to give her refuge during those tough years, she and her daughter Bongzi of blessed memory, and her grandchildren could find a caring father, grow up and develop their artistic creativity, thanks to the fact that they had found favour in other African countries.”

This is why Salma Maoulidi criticises the South African idea of African Renaissance editor@pambazuka.org <http://www.pambazuka.org> as an empty mouth wash when she cannot put it into practice, as she elaborates:

“A number of leaders and countries were, however, willing to try to make the grand concept of a united and free African reality. They made great sacrifices to liberate their fellows who were still in bondage, but upon liberation the latter have been reluctant to reciprocate with equal doses of good will. South Africa, a country whose anti-apartheid leadership benefitted from the Pan-African experience is now a political and economic sore to African nations. The killings of mostly African immigrants in 2007 and 2008 are but an extension of wider anti-African immigration policies pursued by the South African government. Indeed stringent visa conditions against nationals of former frontline states persist, while European nations that supported apartheid have greater access to Africa’s economic magnet. Yet the helm of South Africa’s political leadership are revolutionaries, people who were given refuge in neighbouring states to wage a liberation struggle. It is this class that has failed to translate to the masses that stayed behind the value of unity among Africans and the sacrifices neighbouring countries made and continue to make to enable peaceful coexistence in South Africa. How can a class who benefited from an emancipatory ideology in action abandon it amidst so much expectation of a renaissance in the continent? This presents an opportune moment to explore some of the shifts that have occurred in the continent, which may signal a repositioning of Pan-African agenda for continental relevance. I will speak only to the most salient areas that I think are critical to novel articulations of Pan-Africanism, so as to promote unity and inclusion. There are aspects that thus far have been ignored by past articulators who, being more consumed with reasoning, failed to nurture a collective will that would transform the African identity.”

I have been privileged to visit and travel throughout South Africa several times giving peace conferences at Universities, Hometowns, Museums and Galleries. I had the privilege to tour the whole country from Pretoria to Venda, Pietermaritzburg, from Johannesburg, Durban, Kwa-Zulu-Natal to Port Elizabeth to Cape Town to Stellenbosch; from Johannesburg to Swaziland, through former from Kwa-Venda to Kwa-Ndebele, to most of the Homelands and Townships as well as the squatting-camps also known as “Guguletu” slums which still remain secluded and Black. And I can honestly

say that this xenophobic phenomenon is common only with the less educated masses that South Africa is endowed with in their millions. I must confess that I have not found a country so beautiful with a people so desolate and desperate like in South Africa.

The poverty of the masses of Black people of South Africa cannot compare with any part of Africa I have also visited as I globe-trot the continent and the world. The main problem is landless people, who have to buy everything right to vegetables from supermarkets. I realised that two entire generations have been sacrificed and have not gone to school. I was shocked to find that at the entrance to the Table Mountain city, Cape Town, from the Airport there is a big slum where Blacks live with no infrastructures, and children of 6 years and more, not going to school, who jam the cars at Traffic-Jam and Traffic-Light breaks to beg for money.

In the Homelands I found dilapidated and unfurnished schools without teaching materials and no Teachers. My South African friends confided to me that it is hard to find Black South African teachers in the Sciences and Mathematics because during Apartheid the sciences and mathematics were forbidden to be taught to Blacks in the schools. Blacks were only allowed to study Afrikaans history. Africans from other parts of Africa who go to South Africa are usually more qualified and can fill up the places South Africans cannot fill. Those few Black South Africans who are educated get good jobs because of the integration and the post-Apartheid Africanisation policy. That also explains why many young South Africans do not strive to go in for terminal degrees as it is common with youths in other African countries.

I also realised that Black South Africans have not cultivated the entrepreneurial spirit as you can find in other African countries. Actually many Black South Africans were not exposed or trained to be entrepreneurial. It is very common to find Africans from other countries in small entrepreneurial businesses. Somalians and other groups from Cameroon, Nigeria, Ghana, Mali and Senegal and other parts Africa have taken over the small businesses in sewing, embroidery, hair dressing, shoe mending and small provision stores.

The fault comes from the Post-Apartheid government of South Africa for not making an educational plan and business training plan for the young black South Africans in the short and long term.

South African youths see the Africans from other countries as a threat to their livelihood. Since most of them do not go to school, they cannot even learn the history of Pan-Africanism and the liberation movements that were sponsored by many other African countries in solidarity with South Africans, South West Africans and Zimbabweans.

And as long as South Africa does not adopt a systematic educational policy to uplift the Blacks from the slums and ghettoised Townships, and also apply new equitable land distribution reforms, and the equitable distribution of the commonwealth, it would be difficult to fight the ignorant rising xenophobia and new racist syndrome in South Africa.

15. 8. The Problem Of African Artificial Boundaries

Pan-Africanism and the African Union agenda is suffering from the colonial arbitrary partition and the balkanisation of Africa with its artificial boundaries. The Revolutionary Pan-Africanism as propounded by Kwame Nkrumah was to propagate this new wave of Continentalism which would help build the African personality and identity. This, he thought, would have in turn broken down the artificial boundaries and barriers created by colonialism.

But since independence and the creation of the Organisation of African Unity, Africans have not benefited from the this so called independence. This is because Africa gained independence on wheel chair of the colonial master who is still called up to push the wheel chair along. In so doing Africa created the pigeon-hole Wheel-Chair Nation-State.

Instead the pigeon-hole states of Africa have reinforced the boundaries through the clause of “Uti possedetis jus”. And so it is difficult to go from one African country to another either by road or by air or by sea. And so it is much easier to travel from Douala to Paris and to London and New York, that to travel to next door Senegal or Tanzania and Mozambique.

Gacheke Gachichi, on discussing about Pan-Africanism and the politics across boundaries (2010) laments on this colonial problem which has never been solved by post-colonial Africans. He critiques:

“Mwalimu stated that the boundaries that were imposed by colonial forces during the partitioning portioning of the African continent divided mother against child, as well as brother against brother, and hindered the social development of Africa. He gave the example of the Maasai community in Kenya and Tanzania who were divided between two colonial forces, the British and the Germans. This is why today you will find communities in Africa such as the Maasai who are divided by colonial boundaries although they belong to the same family: they carry different pass-ports and identification cards, but ultimately are tied together by a cultural and historical connection. This example manifests itself from the immigration centres of Kaduna, which connects Rwanda and Uganda, or Namanga, which connects Tanzania and Kenya. It is here

that you will find women carrying babies and bananas on their backs as they try to cross borders that are usually fortified by the police. Their crossing is made more difficult as they made more difficult as they attempt to balance immigration paperwork with these babies and bananas, and attempt to navigate the innumerable forms asking for occupation, identity and reason for travelling.”

These restrictive boundaries enhanced by the stringent visa restrictions have contributed to downplay the building of the African identity and solidarity. Instead Africans from these pigeon-hole-states consider their brothers and sisters from other states like strangers and loathed foreigners. Africans tend to rival with each other instead of building on their solidarity and complementarities.

Worse still, the fact that most Africans of the new generation are young and have not experienced colonialism nor heard of it in a systematic manner, the idea of Pan-Africanism is more of a kind of fairy tale which does not make sense to most of them.

The new leaders of Pan-Africanism are no longer interested in celebrating Africa and its contributions to world civilisation, art and history, to inform its younger generations not to lose track of its inventions and the creativity of Pan-Africanism. Also the networking that used to exist between the Black intelligentsia of Africa and the Diaspora is no longer the case as the new generation of African Americans do not find the interest any more in identifying with their motherland Africa, which has been branded in the post-colonial era as full of corruption, despotism and megalomania.

Salma Maoulidi (editor@pambazuka.org) elaborates on this aspect when she demonstrates how <http://www.pambazuka.org> this is due to the Luke warmness that has set in the new era of post liberation in Africa and post-Civil Rights in the USA. Even the Luke warmness of the first Black President Barrack Hussein Obama towards Africa, is very glaring. Even when Obama visited Ghana during his first term of office, it was more of a window dressing with no genuine programme for the development of Africa socially and economically. This attitude is criticised by John Marah (2009) who commented on Obama’s visit to Ghana saying:

“Unfortunately, President Obama did not urge his African brothers and sisters to integrate their small-scale economies. For Africans to effectively compete in our contemporary global village, they must heed Nkrumah’s call for a united Africa.”

This silence was deliberate because Obama did not want to appear in the eyes of his White mentors to be a pro-Africanist. Obama, since his election as the first Black President of the United States of America, the most powerful white power in the world, has been walking the tight rope to please his white creditors to show them that he was not Afro-centric as they thought, but actually a White Mask in Black Skin to take the criticism from Frantz Fanon. Obama has proven to be more German than the Germans, to be more Jew than the Jews. But he is afraid or ashamed to assume his responsibility as a Kenyan-African-American.

He even spited his own country of his father, Kenya, when it needed his intervention as a neutral arbiter after the Presidential election riot that degenerated into a small civil-ethnic war.

Obama refuses to go to Kenya and other parts of Africa under the pretext that Africa is undemocratic and kleptocratic. This argument is pertinent, especially for Africans who were expecting so much from the first Kenyan-African American President.

This is not different from the new tendency to expose the wet blanket attitude as an excuse by successful African Americans today who like to identify only with the powerful and the rich. A good example is the cases of Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice, who as heads of the powerful State Department, did nothing to foster African development and American investment policy in Africa. The same is true of this government of Barrack Obama who wanted to appoint another Rice (Susan) to succeed Hilary Clinton had it not been for the staunch rejection of John McCain.

But Obama is only interested to militarise Africa and turn it into a battle ground for more of Africa's Blood oil, Blood minerals, and Blood natural resources to be wantonly exploited for America. Obama is only interested to fight the Chinese expansion in Africa to protect American geopolitical interests. Or else why is Obama not interested in stopping the war in the Congo? Why is he not also interested in stopping the other undemocratic regimes with wonton human rights abuses like he did in Libya and celebrated the assassination of Muammar Gaddafi?

It is strange that Jimmy Carter and even the controversial President who is popularly called the war-monger, George Bush, have done more for Africa's development during their tenure of office than Barrack Obama. So what does he want to teach Africa in this game of cutting his nose to spite his face, just because he wants to please powerful White America? As a wise student from Harvard, Obama would have used his common sense to fortify Jimmy Carter's and George Bush's work in Africa for fostering Democracy and fighting

HIV/AIDS war and the enhancement of the lives of AIDS victims. That could have gained the approval of his rich American creditors.

But the irony is that at the same time when Obama does not want to visit African Undemocratic countries, the same Obama's American government sent Hilary Clinton to strengthen, and is still strengthening ties, with undemocratic China but never complaining of China's poor human rights records or non-democratic regime. For this reason I buy Salma Maoulidi critique when she says that:

"In many ways the Africa pre and post-independence leadership embodied Pan-Africanism. These heads of states who were poll bearers have since died, been assassinated or deposed. The current generation of African leaders are not inheritors of this legacy. In fact with the bulk of the adult population in Africa being born between 1985 and 1990, a period when the original objective of liberation and independence had been achieved, the challenge is in substantiating the continued relevance of the ideology to new generation of Africans who have inherited the seeds of mistrust sown by former disciples of Pan-Africanism like Jomo Kenyatta and Kamuzu Banda. Today's Africans, if they have heard of Pan-Africanism, then it is in a context of was, not what is or what could be. Pan-Africanism remains an obscure rhetoric that informs an increasingly obsolete academic and activist culture. It formed part of Africa's pre-independence era such that those born in an independent Africa find little attraction with its emancipatory charm. The present occupation in the continent is political and economic unity, as evidenced by the African Union's most visible project (New Partnership For African Development). Its central thesis is, however, not home-grown nor is its final outcome homebound. At inception, Pan-Africanism was tied to strong intellectual, labour and other social movements e.g. student movements, revolutionary movements and literary movements. Pan-Africanism was a central thesis in their advocacy. Political agitation for the rights of black people was going on simultaneously both in America and in the continent calling for the end of oppression of black people. This shared purpose is no longer shared by the more recent crop of African-American in power. Rather the perception is that the likes of Condoleezza Rice or General Colin Powell are a liability to the continent. Overall, they did little to boost image of Africa or to advocate for the continent."

This therefore calls for the rebranding of Pan-Africanism to meet the needs of the new African generation and those in the Diaspora. Pan-Africanism must become more innovative and entrepreneurial, especially in celebrating African achievements and African excellence on the continent and in the Diaspora; and providing new alternative for new initiative for African

socio-economical, political and cultural innovative development. The restoration of the Festivals of the Arts and Culture, and the initiation of new Entrepreneurial Successes and Initiative Festivals, can become an item to captivate the interest of the new generation of Africans.

Salma Maoulidi (editor@pambazuka.org) elaborates on the need to renew the <http://www.pambazuka.org> old tradition of linking and outreach with the African Americans and the other Africans in the Diaspora. This will also introduce the new generations in the USA and Africa to the history and endeavours of Pan-Africanism. Compulsory teaching of Pan-Africanism in African schools and in American schools and African European Diaspora will create some self-determination and enhance the spirit self-respect in both Africans non-Africans and those of the Diaspora.

Just as we read other histories like the holocaust of the Jews, so also should Africans all over the world and non-Africans and even Asians should be invited to read about Pan-Africanism as an African contribution to the history of Humanity. It is the about the history of the struggle of a people to defeat Slavery and Racism through the Humanistic Philosophy of Pan Africanism.

It is by the reading of our histories and the histories of other people that we can develop the empathy to respect and feel in other people's shoes and even respect and celebrate ourselves. Actually the crisis the USA is facing today about racism and racial prejudices can be pre-empted by researching and reading more on Pan-Africanism so as to create healthy dialogue among peoples of the United States of America and Africa, to enable them handle their internal racial problems. Salma Maloudi's contribution is very interesting here and draws our attention when she says:

"Even after returning to Africa, African students maintained ties with the Diaspora. In return the leadership in the Diaspora was connected to the continent ideologically, spiritually and at times physically. They made deliberate overtures to Africans, building solidarity and furthering causes related to the liberation of all people of African descent recognising the connectedness in individual and collective cause. For example Mary McLieod Bethune, the first African American woman to serve in the US government, and Adam Clayton Powell Jr. formed part of the Council on African Affairs, a black lobby advocating for African interests. Specifically they advocated for the end of colonialism in Africa and for self-determination."

For some time now many African countries have become suspicious of youths from other African countries. They have therefore developed very

stringent visa measures for travelling for many Africans like from Nigeria and Cameroon for example. The reason why many countries have become very stringent in checking movements of Africans is because of the so-called con-men and scammers that have developed with the new era of seeking for greener pastures and making fast money. But it must be remembered that no amount of restriction would scare away con-men and other kinds of people. But other alternatives can be developed to foster interaction among African youths in a positive manner.

The creation of a common citizenship for Africans and to African Americans to travel without visas to other African countries would be ways of bringing Pan-Africanism alive to the people. Encouraging the “Roots Day” in honour of Alex Haley, to celebrate African American African origins on a yearly basis, would also enhance the bringing alive of Pan-Africanism in a more modern manner.

The current practice where African Americans are tracing their countries of origin through their DNA can be used to foster more exchanges and collaboration with African Americans of the Diaspora with Africa. African Americans can be offered the nationalities of the origin and passports to encourage their keeping their relationship to Africa. African Americans should be made full members to design policies and participate in the decision making policies of the African Union in its prospects for African development. Business ventures should be encouraged between black businesses and black investments in the USA and Africa. For example the AGOA policy for Africa can be used by African Americans to create business links between Africa and the USA and a vital African business network links in the USA.

Building African self-reliant-agencies and trust-clinics is very crucial for the take-off of a new wave of Pan-Africanism. African Union should serve as a platform to build entrepreneurial links between African youths and African American youths. The idea of the Pan African University just launched is very pertinent and timely. It should also include taking African Americans and Africans in the Diaspora to integrate the Pan African University forum. There could also be vital exchange programmes established between African American Professors and students.

15.9. The Problem Of Neo-Colonialism And Neo-Colonial Dictatorship

The problem all African post-colonial states are facing is that since independence, the African States have found it very difficult to do without the master. This is because of the wheel-chair independence accorded to Africa

which was not well prepared to liberate itself from the Master. And so Africa has found itself in a neo-colonial system where the former master colonial countries still call the shots in Africa and African soldiers and statesmen and leaders march according to the music and rhythm of the metropolitan band.

This is what Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe (1962) was criticising when he made his discourse on Pan-Africanism just before the founding of the OAU in 1963. He insisted that if Africa had to be free and become master of its destiny, it had to cut off completely or modify to a minimum its ties with the colonial masters and create more ties among themselves. This was his opinion:

“Two factors which may be said to have intensified the problem of African unity are the vestigial attachments of African States with their former colonial rulers. These attachments are so deep-rooted that they affect the whole personalities of these budding political personalities. Since imperialism is all-pervading in its operations it envelops in its totality the very atmosphere of these former colonies. Consequently, their political, economic, social, educational, spiritual, cultural and religious institutions have been subjected to a terrific impact from which they may never recover...The instrument used for implementing this kulturkreise is the Commonwealth, in the case of the British, and the Community, in the case of the French. The Commonwealth and the Community are, therefore, important factors to be reckoned with in the realization of African unity. To overlook their importance is to over-simplify the problem of African unity. Therefore, it is germane at this stage for me to explain the effect of the existence of these political leviathans on the future of Pan-Africanism.”

For the past fifty years we have come to realise that the neo-colonial links have tied the post-colonial states to the aprons of their colonial masters and to the advantage of the colonial masters than to their collective advantages if they were trading among themselves. This is because all post-colonial states have specialised in trading and exporting raw materials since independence. And these countries become more or less the dumping ground for the manufactures of the colonial masters since they are all bound by the bilateral trade treaties of preferential tariffs. The truth is that apart from countries like Nigeria with crude oil and gas resources, most of these post-colonial countries are dwarfed in the marketing competition when it comes to comparing manufactured products. Let us hear what Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had to say about these arrangements:

“Commonwealth Preference is a system of tariff preferences which came into being at Ottawa, as a result of the decision of the Imperial Conference which was held there in

1932. Through this system, Commonwealth countries grant preferences by levying a customs duty on all imports from non-Commonwealth countries and a lower rate or none at all on imports from the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference held at Montreal in 1958 declared in favour of continuing to maintain Commonwealth preferences. In practice, it would appear that some of these have been unilaterally modified, if not repudiated because, under the United Nations General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, the United Kingdom has obtained waivers to help certain colonial products and on the other hand has increased some of its domestic tariffs. The recent application of Britain to join the European Common Market may be the final knock-out blow to Commonwealth preferences, if the European Economic Community insists that Britain should comply with the Common Market Code (that is, Articles 85-94 of the Treaty of Rome) which stipulates obedience to the rules of free competition and tests of restrictive practices.”

The same is true of the former French colonial states who maintained their ties with France after independence. Facts have proven that the 50 years of post-independence of cooperation and military support has turned out to be another form of recolonization. French armies have intervened in the French territories to keep French interests in Burkina Faso, in Cameroon, in Niger, Cote d'Ivoire, Congo Republic, Gabon and Mali and you name them. This is done in exchange of natural resources and mineral wealth for the upkeep of these expensive armies. Unpopular regimes have been kept in power for long because of vested interest. Let us see what Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had to say about the French alliance with African States:

“Under Article 78 of the Constitution, the Community has jurisdiction over foreign policy, defence, monetary system, common economic and financial policy, justice, higher education, transport and telecommunication. Article 86 is flexible enough to release a member State of the Community, on attaining independence, to cease to belong to the Community. Under the same article, ‘A member State of the Community may also, by means of agreement, become independent without thereby ceasing to belong to the Community’. Also, ‘An independent State which is not a member of the Community may, by agreement, adhere to the Community without ceasing to be independent.’ Article 88 vests the Republic of France or the Community with power to ‘make agreements with States that wish to associate themselves with the Community in order to develop their own civilizations.’ It is necessary to explain the Franc Zone because it affects the economic and financial life of French-speaking African States. All members of the non-European Zone belong to a general customs union. The African members include Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast,

Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Upper Volta. Morocco and Mali are members but they retain national control over financial transfers. Cameroun and Togo are de facto members not having legal agreement with France. It is significant to note that African States which are member of the Franc Zone are associated members of the European Common Market. They are also members of the Europe Economic Community Development Fund, which was established to promote the economic and social development of non-European countries or territories administered or, in certain cases, formerly administered by the member States of the European Economic Community."

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was very sceptical of all the military alliances created with African independent States. He realised that most African States apart from being very small, were very poor and weak to defend themselves. The example of Ethiopia that was occupied by Italy was a good example of how weak and poor states could become toys in the hands of the colonial powerful military garrisons. According to Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe the only way out was for African States to unite and build a strong military force to defend the African common interest. He was very clear as a statesman and as a Pan-Africanist when he said:

"The entanglement of African States in military alliances with the Commonwealth and the Community is another issue which must be resolved by the Pan-Africanists in order to allay the fears which made such alignments necessary in the first place. Most of the African States which are now independent are small, either in area or in population or in both. In the modern world, no independent State can afford to stand alone simply by trusting the United Nations (I mean no disrespect to the United Nations). Ethiopia trusted the League of Nations, but it took World War II to restore its lost sovereignty. We have seen that Commonwealth connection does not necessarily imply a military alliance; and we have seen that it does in the French Community, except in the case of associate members by special agreement. If, therefore, Pan-Africanism would imply the severing of these military alliances then it would be necessary to replace them by equally strong attachments which would be in position to safeguard the territorial integrity of these small African States. In some cases, the military alliances have been made public, as in the case of certain members of the French Community and the Commonwealth. But there is reason to believe that even in the case of the Commonwealth countries in Africa, there are certain accords and understandings, apart from written defence agreements, which obligate a Commonwealth country to call upon the United Kingdom for assistance in case of aggression or invasion. And it is well known that all Commonwealth States in Africa, without exception, rely on Britain and other countries

for technical assistance in the administration and organization of their armed forces, the training of their soldiers, the selection and purchase of their weapons, and the commanding of their defence forces. When Pan-Africanism is realized, it will be up to our leaders to disentangle themselves from these written and unwritten defence pacts, and also from the open and secret military alliances which may exist but are generally unknown and unheralded. In the light of the above facts of past and recent history, my considered views are that Pan-Africanism has come to stay, and in spite of anthropological, sociological and ideological problems, it will yet be a shining example to the rest of the world how people of different races, divergent cultures and diversity of languages can live together in political unity in one continent with their territory safeguarded from aggression and their civil liberties guaranteed by the entrenchment of fundamental human rights in their constitutions. Not being a seer, I can only prophesy that the nature of this political union may be continental or regional, but the fact remains that Pan-Africanism is destined to be feasible either in the immediate or distant future.”

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was very clear that all depended on the good will and management of the differences African States are confronting with after independence. He stressed the fact that Africa was not only confronted with language and linguistic diversity problems, but also with the various ideological, religious problems and political problems. But one thing he was adamant about was that no matter the differences and how many and difficult they were, any Pan-Africanism built on racism or racialisation would be a failure. This is what he said:

“Whether the unity of African States is possible or not depends upon the ability of African leaders to resolve the problems created by the social intercourse of the inhabitants of Africa. As I said earlier on, these are mainly anthropological, sociological, and ideological, and they affect not only the individual Africans themselves but also their societies. It is my candid opinion that if pursued in the right spirit, most of these problems can be effectively adjusted for the emergence of a fertile soil that will be favourable for the evolution of some sort of association of African States. Pan-Africanism in action has proved the existence of deep-seated fears which exist in the minds of certain African leaders in some African States. The Principles of Monrovia demonstrate the nature of these fears, to wit: the right of African States to equality of sovereignty irrespective of size and population; the right of each African State to self-determination and existence; the right of any African State to federate or confederate with another African State; respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal and domestic affairs of African States inter se and the inviolability of the territorial

integrity of each African State. These are well-known accepted principles of International Law...If the issues mentioned in the preceding paragraphs are secondary, it is essential that we also examine the primary ones. First, the inhabitants of the African continent are not racially homogeneous. In North Africa, the majority of the population belong to the Mediterranean group of the Caucasoid race. In Africa south of the Sahara, the majority are Negroid, with the exception of a small minority of European settlers in southern Africa who are either members of the Alpine or Nordic groups of the Caucasoids. The coexistence of these racial groups has created a social problem in Africa as apartheid and Mau Mau have shown. Secondly, the existence of various linguistic groups in Africa has intensified the problem of communication and human understanding. Whilst those who live on the fringe of the Mediterranean are Hamitic-speaking, the Africans of the west are mainly Sudanic-speaking. The indigenous central and southern Africans are Bantu-speaking. The inhabitants of eastern Africa are partially Sudanic, Bantu, Hamitic and Semitic. The small European elements in southern Africa speak either English or Afrikaans. Emerging out of this milieu is the fact that to millions of Africans either English or Arabic or Swahili or Hausa is the lingua franca, whilst the rest have to manage as best they can. Thirdly, the impact of various cultures on African society has created basic problems of social unity. One example is the activities of the Pan-Arab League which seeks to unite under one fold all the Arabic-speaking peoples not only of Africa but also of the Middle East. Another example is the attempt being made in certain quarters to create an Islamic Confederation which will cut across racial, linguistic and cultural lines. Then there is the move to interpret Pan-Africanism purely in terms of race and to restrict its membership and activities to the Negroids and thereby exclude other races who live in Africa who are not black. These three problems are real. The practice of racial segregation and discrimination is a disturbing factor in society, as the examples of the United States, the Union of South Africa and the Central African Federation have shown. The official use or recognition of any particular language to the detriment of others has not made for harmonious human relations and the experiences of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and the U.S.S.R. are a great lesson. My conclusion is that parochialism in the realms of race, language, culture or religion has often led to social disintegration. Therefore, it constitutes a social and psychological barrier which must be hurdled if Pan-Africanism is to become a reality. If the anthropological problems are basic, then the sociological are complex since they affect the economic, political and constitutional aspects of the lives of those concerned. Economically, the existence of tariff walls and barriers has tended to alienate rather than draw closer the relations of those who should be good neighbours. High competitive markets have led to cut-throat methods of bargaining and distribution. The use of separate currencies as legal tender has accentuated social differences. With separate

road, railway, aviation and communications systems, Africans have become estranged to one another."

As a pragmatist as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was he did not leave any point untouched. No matter how difficult and how embarrassing it might seem to discuss, he thought it was very necessary to discuss them. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe seemed to have been the only African leader who thought these problems of Pan-Africanism so thoroughly without mincing words and without fear of hurting certain hearts. He was very brave and very realistic and decided to think through all what this idea of Pan-Africanism in reality would mean and what it would entail to make it a reality.

May be, had most of the African leaders thought out as thoroughly as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe had, or had used some of his insights, before signing the pact for the Pan-African Union, then things must have been easier.

The problem was that when the African and Arab-African leaders were fighting a common enemy, which was colonialism, they did not see their differences either in linguistics, race, politics and religion.

But after the liberation the raiment of self-determination fell and they had to see themselves in all the oddities of their nudity and differences. But maybe it was better that Pan-Africanism put on the mask of Unity to hide its diversity of differences that will only show in the choreography of the harmony it will try to build from the diversities of interest but with the unity of vision for the mutual benefit of everybody.

This is what Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was trying to teach the leaders of Africa and the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism and the Organisation of African Unity. That is what he was trying to teach us the new generation when he outlined his arguments for and against:

"The political issues are even more confounding. Granted that political union is desirable, the question arises whether it should be in the form of a federation or a confederation. If the former, should it be a tight or a loose one? In any case sovereignty must be surrendered in part or in whole, in which case it will be desirable to know whether it is intended to surrender internal or external sovereignty or both? In this context, we cannot overlook the struggle for hegemony as indeed has been the case in the last few years. Hand in glove with the struggle for hegemony goes the manoeuvre for the control of the armed forces for the effective implementation of policy. The constitutional implications of Pan-Africanism present to its builders a challenge to create a heaven on earth for African humanity. Therefore, the powers of the executive must be clearly defined, bearing in mind that in most of the progressive States of the world, Heads of

States exercise powers formally and Heads of Governments formulate policy and do the actual governing. Nevertheless, the vogue is to accept the supremacy of the legislature, as a forum for airing the views of the electorate and strengthening the hand of the executive. Pan-Africanists must also guarantee the independence of the judiciary, not necessarily by stratifying judges as a select and privileged elite but by ensuring that they shall perform their functions without fear or favour and at the same time be responsible to the people for their actions and behaviour. To obtain maximum efficiency in the machinery of administration, the civil service must be insulated from partisan politics. As for the people themselves, their fundamental rights must be guaranteed and entrenched in any document or instrument creating any association of African States."

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was very clairvoyant in his vision of what he described as the African Leviathan. He saw Africa becoming a rising super power whether on a regional or a continental basis. Whichever the alternative, it would be for Africa's benefit and interest. Africa had to build a strategic plan and a development framework on how to go about its unity. It could be unitary, Federation or confederation. But it did not matter what kind of Unity as long as Africa understood what it needed to trace out its destiny in self-determination. He gave very detailed strategic plan for African-Unity and Pan Africanism outlined in the following terms:

"With such a background, the future of Pan-Africanism can be tackled optimistically. I have never disguised my belief that African States can unite for the achievement of certain political objectives; but in spite of my optimism, I have never hidden my fears that the barriers to be overcome are many and variegated. As I see it, there is bound to arise an African leviathan in the form of a political organization or association or union or concert of States. Such a leviathan may be formed on a continental basis, in which case, we may have, say, an association of African States. It may be formed also on a regionalized basis, in which case we may have the emergence of a union of North African States or West African States or Central African States or East African States or South African States. It is not impossible for such a leviathan to be formed on any other basis that may be distinct from a continental or regional pattern. Once such a leviathan has become a reality, it will be necessary for the nature or form of its government to be known. Three main forms are known to students of government; unitary, federal and confederate. If it is to be unitarian, then it will be highly centralized with some devolution of its internal sovereignty to its local government units. If it is to be federal, then it will be necessary to decide whether the internal sovereignty of the federal government shall be explicitly defined, whilst allocating to it the exclusive exercise of external sovereignty, but reserving residuary powers to its co-ordinate

units, as is the case of Nigeria, or vice-versa, as is the case of Canada, or a mixture of both systems, as is the case of India. If it is to be a confederate form of government, then both the external and internal sovereignties of the individual members of the confederation shall remain intact, subject to whatever aspect of same may be surrendered for the smooth operation of the confederated States. Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union is an example of this. Howbeit, such a leviathan on becoming a fait accompli must be accepted as a concert of African States. In the light of what has happened in Europe and America, I am of the opinion that a concert of African States, as envisaged, must be properly organized and must have organs of administration. It should be organized to enable top level decisions to be made probably by Heads of States or Heads of Governments or their representatives. A Parliament of African States will have to meet periodically for general discussion of the problems confronting the African concert. Naturally, it should be organized on the basis of the United Nations Assembly. To settle disputes amicably, among African States, a Pan-African Court of International Justice will necessarily be set up and it should interpret the laws of members of the concert in addition to the accepted principles of International Law. A Pan-African Secretariat, manned cooperatively by nationals of the concert will be responsible for the administration of the day-to-day affairs of this African leviathan. Having established what, for want of a definite name, I have preferred to term a concert of African States, the need to safeguard its unity and to guarantee the fundamental rights of the citizens of the States forming the concert becomes apparent. It is essential that the unity of the concert should be safeguarded because of the problems of Pan-Africanism which hitherto have been discussed in extenso. Not only that, each State-Member of the concert must seriously devise ways and means of raising living standards of their inhabitants, to make the union worthwhile. Whilst doing this, they must realize that the continent of Africa, which has suffered degradation for centuries, can also set an example of how to restore the dignity of man in Africa."

15.10. Building Trust And Self-Reliant New Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism

The New Wave of revolutionary pan-Africanism must build on the heritage of Kwame Nkrumah and Amilcar Cabral and other Pan-Africanists who believed that Self-Reliance and working with the productive forces of Africa was the way to success and to stem off imperialism.

The problem why Pan-Africanism remained an issue with the elitist and privileged society was because it grew out of the elitist and class uplifting genre of the Black society who wanted to claim a vantage space like the Whites had.

Its failure was at its conception as WEB Du Bois talked of the “Talented Tenth,” which I have mentioned at the beginning of this book that it was exclusive in his subconscious mind, knowing how dejected the majority of Black people were, and could not afford to rise up the level of the “Talented Tenth”.

It would seem WEB Du Bois believed seriously in the saying of Shakespeare that: *“Some are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust on them.”* Whereas the African Philosophical truth teaches us that all of us are born great; and everyone has to work hard and share with his brother and sister; and pray to God to show him or her how to use their talents to achieve that greatness and become the great persons they were all destined to be in their particular contextual individual ways.

The backlash is that this Philosophy of Pan-Africanism liberation movement, masterminded by a few, did not permeate the entire Black community in America, just like the liberation and the independence which was achieved in Africa did not permeate and benefit the entire Black communities in Africa.

Independence and the liberation of African countries, just like the successes of the Civil Rights Movements in the United States of America, did not serve the interest of all Africans and all Black Americans, especially those who still remained and were condemned to live in the doldrums of the injustices and squalor and poverty of the disinherited of the earth that Frantz Fanon talks about. It was this kind of Independence or Freedom for Africa; and Integration into the Mainstream White Society; that I call Independence and Freedom and Integration on a Wheel-Chair perambulated by the White-Man.

This was because the Black people either in America or in Africa did not have a clear master plan on how they would on their own self-determination proceed to work relentlessly to build up the Black Communities from scratch, with their own self-reliant physical productive forces, as Amilcar Cabral would suggest, without necessarily applying the knee-pad bowl-in hand syndrome that typified and is still common, in most African States today. Many Africans and African States still have to be either “Band-Aided,” Assisted, Foreign-Aided, or in some cases Spoon-fed and Brain-fed by the West.

And that explains why they quickly get relaxed because even though the foreign AID reduces them to live from hand to mouth and to dance to the beck and call of the Piper, they are made to feel that that everything is alright without a “Plan B” on how to manage the induced crisis. And the result is the

rampant corruption and the Pavlov syndrome which has taken hold of Africa and Black Communities everywhere when they hear the bell of Foreign Aid.

They now fight and rival each other as to who would outshine the other in getting all the hand-outs for themselves and their families and friends; and salivate when they hear of Corruptive Foreign Aid just as when they are proposed to mainstream to the uppity privileged Talented Tenth class of the opulent capitalist society. The sad result has been, Just like Jacob Zuma has demonstrated, rising from grass to grace, but does not care a damn to spend Millions of Dollars to renovate and furnish his country home when millions of Black South Africans are still HOMELESS and wallowing in POVERTY.

And as Frantz Fanon rightly says, he is not interested in any liberation which is not equated with the economic and social status which is determined by a real surplus value-driven reality that accrues with that new status for the common good and welfare of the downtrodden and the disinherited of the earth.

And so not withstanding all the talk of Pan-Africanism and liberation, the OAU fell hollow just like the Africa Union is doing now by walking in the same footsteps of OAU, of not building and providing this economic and social status that provides the surplus value-driven realities that the youths of Africa are looking forward to today.

That explains why Pan-Africanism has become another Grandma's story that is no longer told to the young children who today are materially driven and want to consume all the good things that the "forces of production" of other nations, before the European and American nations and now the Chinese, the Indians and the South-Eastern nations, are brandishing before them. What Europe and America were doing before in a small Pavlovian scale of the small privileged Talented Tenth class, China is now doing for the disinherited poor masses and has taken the lead making its surplus value-driven realities to have a more tantalising and narcotic attraction for the African youths of today.

That also explains why the youthful forces of production of Africa are lured by the new Diversity Lottery for the new "Voluntary Slavery" to go produce the wealth of other counties other than their own. And the Pavlov mental conditioning adage and trans-marginalisation inhibition excuse is very popular today for the youths of Africa who are lured daily in their "Looking For Greener Pastures" in the Foreign Lands of No-Return and Western Union Rebates which some much skewed socio-economic analysts try to portray as "Brain-Drain-Brain-Gain" syndrome. But Africa always comes out

the loser of her youthful resources and productive forces for its sustainable development.

It is high time Pan-Africanism, just like the African Union, should build the self-reliant and sustainable socio-economic status for all youths of Africa of tomorrow. The Millennium Development Goals, just like the New Partnership for Africa's Development – NEPAD, conceived from outside by non-Africans, fall short because they lack the stimulus of how Africa can provide for the raising of its socio-economic status by the transformation of its production forces to meet the needs of sustainable development of Africa and Africans today and tomorrow.

Africans have to build this self-reliant strategies to ensure the transformation of the productive forces for the building up of the socio-economic and cultural surplus value-driven realities for Africa's and Africans' survival and sustainable development.

Yves Niyiragira affirms that in order for this self-reliance to take roots and bear fruits, <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/79758> (2012) Africa must first of all divest itself of all neo-colonial influences that always pander and distract Africans from adopting policies and strategies for their own sustainable development, tailored to their own existential contextual needs and resources.

He thus criticises this neo-colonial tradition where Africans are still tied to the apron strings of their colonial Masters when he explains that this dependence on the neo-colonial structures in Africa came into play when the new Chairperson of the African Union had to be elected in 2011:

“The last point that this article is attempting to address is in relation to lessons that African citizens can draw from this stalemate at the continental level. One obvious thing is that Africa is still subject to colonial influence. France and England still have some influence be it political, economic or linguistic in their former African colonies. Jean Ping had the support of most French speaking countries while Dlamini-Zuma enjoyed the backing of most English speaking countries. Secondly, the recent failure to elect a new chairperson emphasised the fact that most countries are more loyal to their regional economic communities. Both the Economic Community of Central African States and the Economic Community of West African States on the one hand and SADC on the other hand stood firmly behind their respective candidates. As a result, the project of continental integration may be a distant dream if there is no bold political will from African leaders to eliminate those differences between regions. Thirdly, there is need for a strong uniting figure to lead the African Union Commission and drive the continental integration agenda. The aspiration of the new chairperson of the African Union,

President Yayi Boni, that 'Africa is looking to establish a continental free trade area by 2017 in order to promote the economic development and integration of the continent', may not materialise if those differences between regional economic communities are not removed."

In the same line of argument, Salma Maoulidi also criticises the fact that Africans still (editor@pambazuka.org) <http://www.pambazuka.org> prefer to communicate among themselves with neo-colonial languages, instead of forging a common language of communication. And the OAU and the African Union has not made efforts to eliminate and mitigate this problem and look for more appropriate strategies. He comments:

"African unity, among other things, is challenged by the language divide: Anglophone, Lusophone, Francophone or Arab speaking. It is ironic that as a people Africans would rather dialogue via the languages of their colonisers and oppressors but resist attempts to adopt an African language to evidence integration. Therefore Africa continues to operate not only in different language zones regionally, but also nationally, as the more educated elites who run the country and services conduct business in the tongue of the masters while the majority of the population converse in indigenous tongues. Thus indigenous Africa remains rooted while official (an professional) Africa is markedly uprooted."

The common language debate came up during the celebration of the African Arts Festivals. During the first African Festival hosted in Dakar, Senegal, the adoption of an African language was first debated where Kiswahili and Hausa were proposed as two major languages that could be taught all over Africa. It was later debated and the Lagos African Arts Festival to no avail.

Had Africa adopted some lingua franca like Kiswahili, Hausa or Yoruba or Zulu and Lingala, then, African children of the new generation and African Americans would be speaking common languages today.

But it is not yet too late to bring this debate to the table. Inroads can still be made now to pre-empt Africa losing its rich and vast linguistic culture in the next coming generations if European languages and Arabic are allowed swallow up original native African languages.

Conclusion: A Critical Appraisal and Evaluation of African Identity, Citizenship, African Re-Renaissance for a Sustainable Afrikology and Revolutionary Pan-Africanism for Development

The Post-Pan-Africanism is characterised by a lethargy which seems to have overtaken Africa since most of the founding fathers of Pan-Africanism and the Organisation of African Unity – OAU are dead.

Part of this lethargy is also due to the fact that it would seem with the liberation of the African States under colonialism and Apartheid, the rhetoric has kind of died down since most of the Heads of State of African countries have actually become the very oppressors of their own people of the so-called Nation-States of the pigeon-hole sovereignties.

Cecil Blake, (2011) in the conclusion of his article on “The rhetorical foundations of Pan-Africanism,” goes on illustrate that the objective of his article, was to provide the missing link in the study and analysis of the Pan-African movement whose terminal date he puts at 1958.

He explains that the idea and ideal of Pan-Africanism flourished and even perished as some may say, due “...to the burden of constraints, and because of the apparent inability to date of the leaders of the African continent to create a unified continent under one government.”

At this backdrop is also the fact that the Pan-African Ideology has also quasi died a natural death. Even though there has been the Seventh or 6th Pan African Congress convened in 1874 in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; and the Eighth or 7th Pan-African Congress convened in Kampala, Uganda in 1994; since the various All African Peoples’ Conferences, it would seem the original verve and stamina of the Sixth Pan-African Congress of Manchester which was the radicalisation of Pan-Africanism has died down. Since independence African Nation-States have taken their place in the neo-liberal economic status of puns in the hands of the former colonial masters, in the tributary economy and the unequal development (Samir Amin, 1972) of the globalising world.

16.1. The Neo-Colonial Discourse Of Francois Mitterrand And Jacques Chirac For The Establishment Of The Neo-Tributary Economy In South Africa

What is even worse is the fact that the economic giant Post-Apartheid South Africa, has not been able to develop an inclusive industrialisation policy of the African continent. Instead it has connived with the former Western colonising powers to continue the colonisation and exploitation of the African continent.

Post-Apartheid South Africa has become the Trojan-Horse of the Western Powers in the neo-colonisation policies of Africa. South Africa is vying with Europe, America and China for the raw materials of the African countries, instead of investing in the industrial development of Africa endowed with almost 60% of the world's rare and natural and mineral resources of all sorts.

Evidence of this thesis can be substantiated by the warning and the agreement entered into by France's President Francois Mitterrand in 1994 with South Africa that Post-Apartheid South Africa should not interfere in its "Zone of Influence". President Francois Mitterrand was able to carve out the geo-strategic zone of France's influence in the world with Africa as the axis of its exploitative productive base as he clearly declared during his first mandate advocating for France maintaining its grips on Africa. Professor Philippe Marchesin of the University of Paris I, in an article titled "Mitterrand l'Africain," "Mitterrand the African" and published by the Parisian Centre for International Studies (1995) gives a pertinent analysis of France's foreign policy under President Francois Mitterrand 14 years mandate and denounces it as hyper-neo-colonial and embracing all the Gaullist ramifications of France's imperialism in Africa, declaring:

"Quatre pistes s'offrent à l'analyse. La première est prédominante dans la vision mitterrandienne de l'Afrique. Il s'agit de la dimension géopolitique, consistant à mettre l'accent sur le rayonnement international de la France. Pour conserver son statut de puissance mondiale, la France doit déployer une politique active en direction du continent africain, auquel la rattachent de nombreux liens. Dressons un rapide florilège des pensées de F. Mitterrand à partir de ses deux "classiques": 'Paris est la nécessaire capitale de l'Union fraquise. Le monde africain n'aura pas de centre de gravité s'il se borne à ses frontières géographiques ... Du Congo au Rhin, la troisième nation-continent s'équilibrera autour de notre métropole. (...) La sécurité, la protection, la défense de l'Afrique nous créent des obligations; la paix civile et la paix sociale ne sont pas les

moindres conditions de la présence française. Dire à nos alliés que là est notre domaine réservé et dire aux populations d'Afrique que ce domaine est aussi et surtout le leur, c'est, je le crois, commencer par le commencement". "(...) Un pouvoir central fortement structuré à Paris, des États et territoires autonomes fédérés au sein d'une communauté égalitaire et fraternelle dont les frontières iront des plaines des Flandres aux forêts de l'équateur, telle est la perspective qu'il nous appartient de préciser et de proposer, car sans l'Afrique il n'y aura pas d'Histoire de France au XXI^e siècle ... Comment en effet la France ... irait-elle vers le Nord? ou vers l'Est? ou vers l'Ouest ? Seule la route du Sud est disponible, large, bordée d'innombrables peuples en même temps que d'espaces inoccupés ... Déjà la France sait combien l'Afrique lui est nécessaire." "(...) L'appelle Bamako a retenti comme un défi ci l'abandon. Mais s'il était moqué ou trahi, la présence française que des millions et des millions d'hommes identifient à leur raison de vivre se mêlerait au long cortège des espaces mortes." "(...) Je dis que le premier devoir de la France, c'est de tout faire pour que les liens ne soient pas coupés, de tout faire pour que nos frères africains restent unis à notre destin ... La France reste celle qui conduit, celle dont on a besoin, celle à laquelle on se rattache. Il ne pourra y avoir d'histoire authentique de l'Afrique si la France en est absente." "(...) Ceci dit, essayons de voir les faits tels qu'ils sont: sous l'affreux aspect de l'utilitarisme, nos colonies nous sont nécessaires. Les abandonner serait s'abandonner". Bien que partisan d'une évolution (...), F. Mitterrand reste dans le cadre colonial. Il est assimilationniste, comme la SFIO d'alors (il refuse le statut d'État associé à Madagascar). Comme beaucoup d'autres, il rate le rendez-vous avec la décolonisation."

"Four vistas come up into focus in this analysis. The first is predominant in Mitterrand's vision of Africa. This concerns the geopolitical dimension, which consists in accentuating the international blossoming of France. In order to preserve its status as a world power, France has to deploy a very active politics with regard to the African continent, to which we have attached many relations. Let us present rapidly a flourish of Francois Mitterrand's thought from his two "classical" pronouncements namely: "Paris is the necessary capital of the French Union. The Africa world will not have a centre of gravity if it restricts itself to its geographical frontiers. From Congo to the Rhine, the third nation-state-continent (Africa) (author's highlighting) finds its equilibrium by gyrating around our metropolitan state. The problem of security, and defence of Africa create for us certain obligations; civic and social peace are the major conditions for French presence in Africa. To tell our allies that Africa falls within our strategic guarded space is to tell the African populations that this space is also and certainly theirs, that is to say, I do believe, to begin by attacking the fundamentals." "(...) A central power is strongly structured around Paris, with autonomous States and federal territories incorporating an egalitarian and fraternal community whose frontiers straddle

across the plains of Flanders to the forest at the Equator, in such a manner that the perspective which we have the obligation to make precisions on and to propose solutions for, because without Africa France will no longer have a history in the 21st Century... How will France effectively go towards the Northern countries? Or again towards the Eastern countries? Or even towards the Western countries? The only available roadmap for France is the Southern route, large enough, flanked with an uncountable multitude of people as well large expanses of unoccupied space... Already France knows how much Africa is very indispensable for its survival.” “(...) The appeal of Bamako has resounded like a challenge to tie here with the abandoned. But if it was mocked or betrayed, the French presence to which millions and millions of persons identify their reason to live is intertwined with the long escort of dead spaces.” “(...) I declare that the first preoccupation of France, is to do everything it takes so the bonds we have built will not be broken, to do everything in our power so that our African brothers would remain united to our destiny... France remains the conducting blood-vein, that the African limp world needs badly, that life wire to which Africa has to be connected to live. There will never be engendered an authentic history of Africa if France is absent.” “(...) With this said and done, let us try to see the facts as they are: under the frightening aspect of utilitarianism, we crucially need our colonies. To abandon them would be to abandon ourselves.”

Professor Philippe Marchesin (1995) goes on to conclude that notwithstanding that Francois Mitterrand was partisan to evolution, he remained in the colonial hexagonal mentality. He was more that assimilationist, just like the SFIO – Socialist France Internationalist Ouvriers of yesterday (he refused the status of Madagascar as an associated State). Like most of the other colonialists, he failed in his date-encounter with decolonization. This is what he has to say:

“Bien que partisan d’une évolution, F. Mitterrand reste dans le cadre colonial. Il est assimilationniste, comme la SFIO d’alors (il refuse le statut d’État associé à Madagascar). Comme beaucoup d’autres, il rate le rendez-vous avec la décolonisation.”

Philippe Marchesin goes further to demonstrate how François Mitterrand, was a diehard colonialist and assimilationist who succeeded to gain for himself the title of “Ton-ton,” “Uncle,” just like Charles De Gaulle was called “Papa” by the colonized and post-colonised leaders of French Africa. He painstakingly demonstrates this attitude by analysing Francois Mitterrand’s speeches and discourses between 1980 and 1990, where Mitterrand reminded his audience that:

“Il n’y a pas de hiatus dans la politique africaine de la France avant mai 1981 - - et après. Si la méthode a Changé l’objectif est resté. Il consiste à préserver le rôle et les intérêts de la France en Afrique”. “(...) L’audience de la France en Afrique, c’est ce qu’elle a de meilleur dans sa continuité”. (...) Je suis porteur de plus qu’une tradition, d’intérêts légitimes, de grands intérêts. Je ne peux pas signer - je m’y refuserai - la disparition de la France de la surface du globe, en dehors de son pré carré”. “(...) Je le dis solennellement devant vous: la France doit maintenir sa route et refuser de réduire son ambition africaine ... La France ne serait plus tout à fait elle-même aux yeux du monde si elle renonçait à être présente en Afrique”.

“There is no hiatus in the African politics of France before May 1981...and after. If the method has changed the objective has remained the same. It consist on preserving the role and interests of France in Africa.” “(...) The French audience in Africa, is the best thing France can boast of in her continuity”. (...) I am once more the bearer of a specific tradition, of legitimate interests, of our great interests. I cannot sign – I would even blatantly refuse – to watch at the disappearance of France from the surface of the world, besides its hexagon.” “(...) I solemnly repeat before all of you: France has to maintain her road-map and refuse to reduce her African ambitions... France would not be itself in the eyes of its observers and the world if she renounces her presence in Africa.”

Philippe Marchesin (1995) demonstrates how the emphasis placed on the geopolitical dimension did not ignore the economic ramifications, which constitute the hard core of Francophonism which is to France the second resort zone for her external commerce after the European Union. He elaborates:

“L’accent mis sur la dimension géopolitique ne doit toutefois pas conduire à ignorer les intérêts économiques, le noyau dur de l’ensemble francophone étant pour la France la seconde zone de commerce extérieur après l’Union européenne.”

“The emphasis is placed on the geopolitical dimension should not in any way lead us to ignore the economic interests, the hard core of the entire francophonie which has become the second zone of influence for exterior business after the European Union.”

This “hands off” caveat to South Africa by France was reiterated by Jacques Chirac, during the Ivorian conflict resolution talks on 4 February, 2005, when he warned Thabo Mbeki to be aware of West Africa whose culture and psychology he did not master well. In his pompous patronisation he opted

to be the tour guide for Thabo Mbeki through the West African Levy Bruhlean infant mentality syndrome space when he cautioned him saying:

“West Africa is West Africa. It has its own characteristics. You have to know it well, ...And I would really like President Mbeki - whose process, I repeat, we do support - to immerse himself in West Africa so as to understand the mentality and the soul of West Africa, because in times of crisis, you have to really know people’s mentalities and what is in people’s souls.”

And Chirac had the guts to vomit out all this trash to Thabo Mbeki because according to BBC (4th February 2005) *“France has long seen itself as Africa’s voice in the world”*.

One could also accuse President Thabo Mbeki to have encouraged this pomposity if one reads the farting speech Thabo Mbeki rendered during his address of the French National Assembly on 19th November 2003, where he acknowledged this false paternalism of France towards Africa, knowing full well that France has been one of those colonial powers (Samir Amin, 1972, Fongot Kinni, 1988) who bled Africa from the jugular vein to build its metropolitan economy and perpetrate the poverty in Africa.

By confirming France as an arch ally and friend, Thabo Mbeki refused to punish the same oppressors of Africa he was courting, when he said:

“I have not known whether it was right that I should stand here and recall the words of a towering French citizen of a turbulent France of the past, who also said: “To punish the oppressors of humanity is clemency; to forgive them is cruelty.” But what I have known is that it was not possible to come into this Chamber and not be reminded, forcefully, of its origins and what was done in this historic city in 1789, which gave birth to much that, today, we take for granted... Our people, and I as part of them, gaze on France and see in her a people of whom Maximilien Robespierre spoke, that strives still to “become a model to nations, a terror to oppressors, a consolation to the oppressed, an ornament of the universe and that, by sealing the work with (its) blood...may at least witness the dawn of the bright day of universal happiness.” As South Africans, we have no choice but to conclude that such a people cannot but be friends and allies.”

In the same vein it could be argued that the Peace and Reconciliation Commission failed Africans since it refused to apply the very French maxim which held that: *“To punish the oppressors of humanity is clemency; to forgive them is cruelty.”* And by so doing, making peace without compensation for the

injustices committed against the Black people of South Africa, the forgiveness of Thabo Mbeki and his people was cruelty.

South Africa decided to create a Rainbow Nation that preferred to make the peace pact with her oppressors in order to assure its survival with the neo-liberalist world of the economic oppressors and creators of the poverty of Africa. The irony is that Thabo Mbeki condemns the oppressors and the poverty and atrocities they caused when he admits in his address to the French National Assembly that:

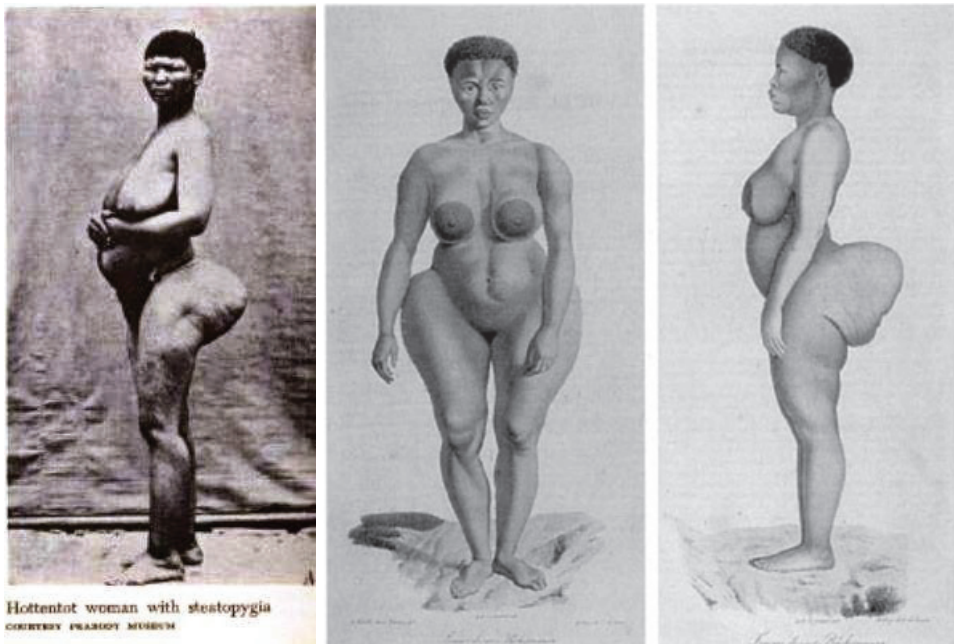
“Millions have resigned themselves to a life of restless nights and days of lethargy caused by empty stomachs. Even where they only have water to fill the void, as they drink they expose their frail bodies to water borne illnesses. Millions are ravaged by diseases, which can be cured or managed, but nevertheless envelope helpless millions, imposing avoidable morbidity and early death. They crowd together in urban slums preying on one another through criminal misconduct, like beasts informed by the instinct of the survival of the fittest, slowly suffocating from the foul smell of the open sewers and rotting piles of accumulating refuse and the stench of poverty. The clean air and the quiet of the countryside and the pleasing sights of nature hide a reality of lives without hope. Unable to read or write, they are imprisoned behind an impenetrable wall of darkness that condemns them ever to recede to the periphery of the human world, as others advance in the continuous flight from ignorance and unknowing.”

It is strange that Thabo Mbeki in his very farting address does not realise, or is deliberately conscious, that he is already stretching out the bowl in hand when he celebrates the atrocities of colonialism and Apartheid which refused the very black people of South Africa and Africa their birth rights of FREEDOM.

When he recognises and celebrates the contributions of Apartheid South Africa to the First World War, and the atrocities of colonialism which denied the human rights to Black people of South Africans and Africans symbolised in Sarah Batman who was reduced to the state of an animal, one would think that he was actually becoming very disgusting for the good taste of Pan-Africanist.

Thabo Mbeki seems to ignore the fact that it was the victory of the Western Allies that cemented the neo-liberalist exploitative power of the Apartheid regime to whom was also bequeathed the right to plunder South West Africa as spoils of war. So when he celebrates the First World War and the participation of Apartheid South Africa, in whose favour is he advocating?

Let the readers judge for themselves this address of Thabo Mbeki when he goes on to celebrate what he calls the Friendship alliance with France:



Photos 296 (a), (b) & (c): Sarah Baartman “Venus Hottentot”: 1789 - 29 December 1815

“In 1917, during the First World War, a transport ship, the Mendi, carrying 823 African men from our country, sank in the English Channel because of an accidental collision with a friendly British ship. 616 perished in the icy waters that separate you from Great Britain. Had these survived the journey from their motherland, they would have served in French docks, handling the materiel that was needed by the allied forces confronting the German armies. Some would have served in the logistics units that had to brave German fire to deliver food and ammunition to the men who occupied the frontline trenches of combat in a war that claimed so many lives of the combatants on both sides of the conflict. Some of their compatriots and ours are buried at a cemetery at Bois d’Elville, near Longueval, and others at the British military cemetery at Arques-la-Bataille. The permanent domicile of these South African souls in France communicates the message that our two peoples are linked by bonds that are unbreakable. In 1816, a century before these South Africans perished on French soil, a young South African woman, Sarah Bartmann had died in this city, having been brought here from her country of birth, via Great Britain, to be displayed to the public as a curiosity. I would like to convey the sincere thanks of our people for the decision taken by the National Assembly last year, to repatriate Sarah Bartmann’s remains to the country of her birth. She has found her final place of rest above the Gamtoos River,

in the Eastern Cape province of our country, where she was born. But even earlier than Sarah Bartmann's forced arrival in France, at the end of the 17th century, our country had received Frenchmen and women forced to flee from religious persecution in their own country. These were the Huguenots, members of the Reformed Church established by the Protestant John Calvin, who found refuge and a new home in our country, contributing much to its evolution, including a successful wine industry... But the question we must answer together is whether it is possible to build that better world! We come out of Africa and therefore have no choice but to ask this question. This is because our continent has great need of its own "dawn of the bright day of universal happiness."...

The peoples of our continent, the Cradle of Humanity, cry out every day for a better life of hope rather than despair. And yet millions wake up daily to a life of seemingly unending poverty.

Thabo Mbeki is quite aware than anybody else of the hideous crimes of colonialism which have rendered the people of Africa and South Africa poor and desolate; those people who are crying out every day as he admits, for a better life of hope rather than the despair that they are condemned to. This is where Thabo Mbeki joins Julius Malema who has admitted that the only solution awaiting poor people of South Africa who are condemned to desperation and hopelessness is the gun. Thabo Mbeki warns against this alternative which might prove inevitable for South Africa and Africa. May be that will be the other alternative of the African Renaissance he is talking about as he rightly admits:

"They can never be certain that tomorrow the guns will not bark once again, portending death and added misery as the poor engage in a bitter struggle to claim first place in a scramble for scarce resources and opportunities. They do not know whether the following day another soldier will not elevate himself, assisted by the guns in his hands, to proclaim himself the ruler who cannot and shall not be questioned."

16.2. The Bordeaux African Renaissance Or African Re-Renaissance

This analysis leads us to examine Thabo Mbeki's philosophy of African Renaissance which is being chewed-gum by some exotic sounding intellectuals of Africa and the Diaspora.

It must be understood here that the term African Renaissance is not new to the academic lexicology of the world intelligentsia. The Harlem Renaissance, which started in the early 1920s, in the United States of America, by radical revolutionary-thinking Blacks headed by Hubert Henry Harrison ,

also known as the “Black Socrates” and Langston Hughes, was focused on popularising the “New Negro”. The Harlem Renaissance ideology and philosophy of the “New Negro” as an affirmative and assertive action-driven programme for enhancing the New Ideology and Imaging of the New Identity of the Negro in the United States of America could be called the African Renaissance.

As I have demonstrated in the first chapter of this book, the term “New Negro” stood for this African Renaissance Moral and Political Philosophy whose objective was the grooming of the New Image of the Negro, “...which urged African Americans to physically fight back against their white oppressors and permanently discard the obsequious image popularly attributed to them by the white media.” It was also the assertive action of Africans to lay their claims to Africa, their motherland and heritage of Humanity, by reconstructing their African Heritage and Matri-Patrimony in their writings, plays and music.



Photos 297 (a), (b) & (c): Thabo Mbeki: June 18, 1942 –

The Harlem Renaissance saw the birth of the first literary “African Writers Series” which influenced the Negritude literary writers and philosophers before Heinemann brought African writers to the world stage at the post-colonial era. While the musical revolutionary series of the “Cotton Club,” became the precursors of Mow-Town Records Revolution in bringing Black Artists, Black Art and Black Music to the World Stage. The Harlem Renaissance reinvented and reconstructed the Negro-Spirituals sang in the Churches, to a more globalised public entertainment and sensitisation of Negroes and Whites to the revolutionary assertive African Jazz, Blues,

Chubby-Checker's Rock and Roll, Twist from Harlem to the world; which have further reconstructed the African American Rhythm and Blues, Samba, Rumba, Reggae, Begin, Zouk, Lamba-Lamba, Hip-Hop, Break-Dance, Michael Jackson's Moon-Walk, to the Rhapsodies of Rap-Music and Rap-Dance that is very popular today.

All these Black African Renaissance awareness and assertiveness were reconstructions and contributions in the literary, artistic and musical arena of the world formed the gamut of the Second Assertive Protest against the "White Oppressors" of Black People and Black Culture. They were the relentless efforts of putting in a more spiritual and psychological manner of liberation the First African Renaissance started by Toussaint L'Ouverture's African Revolution in Haiti the foundation of the Middle Passage of Black people and Black Civilisation of the so-called New World. Toussaint L'Ouverture, as I have said earlier, could be said to be the precursor of Karl Marx or the Proto-Karl Max with his radical pragmatic philosophy of the oppressed punishing the oppressor.

The Third African Renaissance took roots in the Civil Rights Movements in the USA and the Liberation Movements in Africa and gave birth to the Anti-Segregation Rights in the USA, started by John Fitzgerald and finalized by Lyndon Bain Johnson; the Independence of African colonised States and the Peace Corps Movement started by John Fitzgerald Kennedy, and admission of African States and Peoples as members of the recognised International Community of Humanity.

Wherefore it could rightly be said that the founding of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU, is the Fourth African Renaissance, when under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, African leaders of the newly liberated independent states initiated the blue print for African Renaissance and development.

It is understandable that Thabo Mbeki should talk of another African Renaissance at the time he did. With the dawn of the South African Sun that ushered in the defeat and crumbling of the Apartheid regime, it was just timely that another voice be raised for the African Renaissance ideology and philosophy that was plummeting to its lowest nadir.

By the time when Nelson Mandela took on the reins of power in South Africa, Africa had derailed from its original objectives. That is what made Nelson Mandela to raise the alarm on the degeneration that had befallen the rest of Africa since independence that could befall South Africa.

Mandela on insisting that South Africa and the rest of Africa to concentrate on their efforts so as not be become victims of unwanted

exploitation and the creation of poverty, envisaged South Africa as a great rival that should reverse the marketing strategy of the Western economic powers in Africa whereby Africa was encapsulated to be perpetually dependent on the apron strings of the slave-driven capitalistic economic system of the West.

For Mandela, this renaissance was to favour South African marketing and economic expansion in all Africa. South Africa wanted to compete with the Western powers that were vying for the African market that was becoming the third market of the world. Garth le Pere, writing on South Africa's Peaceful and shrewd Diplomacy in Africa (2006) explains that:

“Au début de son mandat présidentiel en 1994, l'ancien président Nelson Mandela a déclaré : « Si nous [les Sud-Africains] ne concentrons pas nos efforts sur ce continent, nous pourrions bien nous aussi devenir les victimes des forces qui l'ont détruit de part en part. » La nouvelle politique étrangère sud-africaine renferme une dimension panafricaine distincte qui relie inextricablement le destin du pays à l'avenir du continent africain. En conséquence, la résolution des conflits endémiques à l'Afrique est dans l'intérêt de Pretoria. Mais l'action diplomatique pour la paix a aussi aiguisé les ambitions de pouvoir sud-africaines au nord du Limpopo. Plus important encore, elle est parvenue à présenter sous un meilleur jour les intérêts économiques et commerciaux sud-africains en pleine croissance sur le continent africain. Après 1994, la position de l'Afrique comme nouvelle frontière des investissements et des échanges sud-africains s'est affirmée : l'augmentation des intérêts commerciaux sud-africains y a été spectaculaire. À titre d'exemple, ses exportations vers le reste de l'Afrique sont passées de 8,6 milliards de rands sud-africains (soit 114 millions d'euros) en 1994 à 38,8 milliards de rands sud-africains (soit 5,17 milliards d'euros) en 2003, dépassant les exportations européennes sur des marchés clés tels que le Kenya, le Mozambique et la Tanzanie, et continuent à gagner le reste du continent.”

“At the beginning of his presidential mandate in 1994. The former president Nelson Mandela declared: “If we (South Africans) do not concentrate our efforts on this continent, we shall ourselves become the same victims of the forces that have destroyed it polarized and split it apart.” The new South African foreign policy comprises of a distinct new African dimension which inextricably unites the destiny of our country to that of the future of the African continent. In consequence, Pretoria is very interested in the endemic African conflict resolution. But the diplomatic action in peace-building has also sharpened the South African power ambitions towards the north of the Limpopo. More important again it has succeeded to present in full bloom the economic and commercial interests of South Africa in full expansion on the African continent. After 1994, the position of Africa as the new frontier for South African investments and exchanges is confirmed: the increase of South African commercial interests were very

spectacular. For example, her exportations towards the rest of Africa have increased from 8.6 milliards of South African Rands (that is the equivalent of 144 million Euros) in 1994 to 38.8 milliards in South African rands (the equivalent of 517 milliard Euros) in 2003, exceeding the European exports in the key markets like Kenya, Mozambique and Tanzania, and they continue to gain access in the rest of the continent.”

This pacification diplomacy of South Africa was not concerted, brave enough and realistic at first. Even though Nelson Mandela had tried to use his political aura to establish peace-building blocks on the continent of Africa, his weight was not felt in Nigeria where military anarchy was rife. Nigeria became the test stone of the African Renaissance policy advocated by South Africa for Africa. But it would seem that South Africa was not very sure of itself and the extent of its power. It was clear that Post-Apartheid South Africa had decided to make compromises with the liberal capitalist West that would cost its future foreign policies and its ambitions to become a leading power base for Africa.

It must be recalled that the Nigerian military rejection of the democratic election of Moshood Abiola and his assassination in Prison and the assassination of his wife; as well as the killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the literary and pro-active critic of the corrupt military regime of Nigeria, were all spearheaded with the support and connivance of the Western Imperialists Powers and corporate oil companies exploiting the oil wealth of the Niger Delta. And this support was due to the vested interest they all had with the assassinations of these personalities. Moshood Abiola stood for the claiming of payment and reparation for the genocidal and colonial crimes from the Western Colonial Powers, just as Germany is paying today to Israel for the genocide of the Jews by Hitler. Ken Saro-Wiwa was fighting the corrupt and perpetration with impunity the inhumane exploitation and pollution of the Niger Delta and destruction of the sustainable livelihood resources of the Niger Delta. The elaboration of Garth le Pere (2006) is very enlightening to my readers when he says that:

“Le premier engagement de l’Afrique du Sud au Nigeria a été un tournant dans son action diplomatique préventive. Lorsque le général Ibrahim Babangida annule les résultats des élections de 1993 (que le candidat de l’opposition, Moshood Abiola, aurait gagnées) et que son successeur, le général despote Sani Abacha, emprisonna Abiola pour trahison en juin 1994, le Nigeria était au bord du gouffre. Mandela réclama publiquement des sanctions économiques et l’isolement diplomatique, incluant l’expulsion du Nigeria du Commonwealth, après qu’Abacha eut ignoré ses ouvertures

diplomatiques et exécuté Ken Saro-Wiwa et huit autres militants de la cause Ogoni, en novembre 1995. Les dirigeants de la Southern African Development Community boudèrent cependant sa réunion sur le Nigeria ; l'Organisation de l'unité africaine (OUA) déclara que sa campagne n'était pas « la manière africaine de gérer un problème africain » et, de retour en Afrique du Sud, ses compatriotes de l'ANC lui rappelèrent que le Nigeria avait contribué à la lutte pour la libération de leur pays. Ce fut l'occasion de tirer des leçons amères sur la solidarité africaine : « les États africains ne se retournent pas les uns contre les autres dans des forums internationaux ». Il était devenu nécessaire pour les diplomates et les stratèges de Pretoria de réexaminer les idéaux et les objectifs de l'ANC en vue d'établir une voie plus « réaliste » de résolution des conflits en Afrique.”

“The first engagement of South Africa in Nigeria was a course of action in preventive diplomacy. When General Ibrahim Babangida annulled the results of the 1993 elections (that the candidate of the opposition, Moshood Abiola, had won the elections) and that his successor, the despotic General Sani Abacha, imprisoned Abiola on charges of treason in June 1994, Nigeria was at the brink of a civil war. Mandela publicly called for economic sanctions and diplomatic isolation, including the expulsion of Nigeria from the Commonwealth, after Abacha ignored all the diplomatic openings and executed Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight militants of the Ogoni peoples cause, in November 1995. Mandela publicly called for economic sanctions and diplomatic isolation, including the expulsion of Nigeria from the Commonwealth, after Abacha ignored all the diplomatic openings and executed Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight militants of the4 Ogoni peoples cause, in November 1995. The leaders of the Southern African Development Community were complaining about their reunion with Nigeria; the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) declared that the South African campaign was not “compatible with the manner of handling African problems” and, on his return in South Africa, his compatriots of the ANC reminded him that Nigeria contributed to the fight for the liberation of their country. It was an occasion to draw bitter lessons of the African solidarity: “African States do not oppose one another in international fora”. It became necessary that the diplomats and the strategists of Pretoria re-examine the ideas and objectives of ANC with the view of establishing a more “realist” resolution of conflicts in Africa.”

This policy of maintaining the pigeon-hole states inherited from the colonial status quo principle of “uti possedetis jus” and non-interference in the internal affairs of members OAU states was highly criticised by Nelson Mandela. The fact that Nigeria contributed to the liberation struggle of South Africa did not give it the right to abuse the human and democratic rights of

her people after independence as many post-colonial states of Africa were doing.

The fact that Nelson Mandela could not stand firm on his position to defend Human rights at all cost because of African solidarity is a sign of how difficult it would be possible for Africa to produce leaders who would defend the rights of their people no matter whose ox is gored. It also shows how futile the African solidarity and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of member states is when they could not come in solidarity behind Libya and even went as far as approving the intervention of the NATO American-European forces to destroy Libya in the 21st Century.

South African “Africa Renaissance” policy of Peace keeping and Peace-building diplomacy could have backed up her policy by using South African Post-Apartheid military strength and strategic knowhow to benefit Africa. This could have been made possible by uniting and joining forces with much strong and experienced forces in Africa: like the Nigerian Military that had proven its worth in other African countries like in the Congo, Liberia and Sierra Leone; like Libya with an experienced revolutionary army; in training and empowering the Pan-African human resource to build up a stronger military inclusive power for the entire continent.

Instead South Africa, after Mandela’s regime, saw itself as the rival of the African emerging economic and military giants in their own rights. South Africa did not foster this common vision for the African Renaissance it claimed to be advocating, which would have made Africa one of the strongest and powerful nations against the Western marauding colonial and exploitative giants that have exploited Africa for over five centuries and were still bent on exploiting Africa. Nelson Mandela, the first President of South Africa tried to build this connection with the military and economically Strong States of Africa like Libya of Muammar Gadhafi and Nigeria.

It would seem that with the accession of Thabo Mbeki onto the helm of power in South Africa, and the rise of Olusegun Obasanjo as head of state of Nigeria, the Peace-building diplomacy of Mandela and Gadhafi did not fare well. Instead the three became rivals with regard to the policy of initiating a more liberating and revolutionary Pan-Africanism. It would seem that Thabo Mbeki’s strive to vie for the leadership of Africa and Pan-Africanism among the co-members of the OAU-AU that the division appeared. Thabo Mbeki and Olusegun Obasanjo were seen by Muammar Gadhafi as collaborators with the Western Powers of perpetual domination of Africa.

The creation of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development – NEPAD, spearheaded by Thabo Mbeki and Olusegun Obasanjo, and their

African pro-Western allies, even though Muammar Gadhafi had implored that the African Union institute an African International Bank and an African Monetary Fund, was considered as a betrayal of the African trust and solidarity. NEPAD was viewed by most right thinking Africans and Muammar Gadhafi as a ploy by the Western neo-liberal powers to maintain Africa at their apron strings of perpetual exploitation and domination. This is how Thabo Mbeki's advocacy for the "African Renaissance" Dream was dashed to the rocks of failure. Garth le Pere (2006) furnishes my readers with an excellent analysis when he admits that:

“En 1999, à la fin de la présidence de Mandela, il était devenu clair que les ambitions de l'Afrique du Sud championne des droits de l'homme et de la démocratie en Afrique étaient au point mort, alors même que les régimes non démocratiques enfreignant et bafouant les droits de l'homme en toute impunité ne manquaient pas. Dès le début, la « présidence morale » de Mandela avait fait des droits de l'homme une pierre angulaire de sa politique étrangère. Dans un article très lu de Foreign Affairs (1993), Mandela avait déclaré que la politique étrangère de l'Afrique du Sud serait fondée sur la conviction de son parti que les droits de l'homme devaient être la première préoccupation de la politique étrangère sud-africaine. Le militantisme de l'Afrique du Sud pour les droits de l'homme, sa promotion vigoureuse de la démocratie et sa condamnation ouverte des régimes africains non démocratiques n'ont jamais été bien perçus auprès de certains dirigeants africains qui ont riposté en qualifiant l'Afrique du Sud de « petit valet de l'Occident à la pointe sud de l'Afrique... Khadafi, réalisant que Mbeki et Obasanjo devenaient les grands acteurs de la réforme de l'OUA pour faire avancer leurs propres intérêts, a aussi cherché à se mettre en vue. Il a exploité la plateforme offerte par le panafricanisme ainsi que la richesse de son pays en gaz et en pétrole pour remodeler son image en « homme de paix ». Il a payé à l'Organisation de l'unité africaine les dettes d'États africains plus faibles et a fourni une assistance financière à Mugabe avant les élections présidentielles de mars 2002. En retour, il comptait sur ces chefs d'États pour soutenir son idée d'États-Unis d'Afrique. Cette vision messianique, qui propose un mandat présidentiel de cinq ans, une force militaire continentale unique et une monnaie africaine commune, avec le quartier général de la nouvelle organisation supranationale siégeant à Tripoli, s'est avérée peu attrayante pour la plupart des chefs d'États africains. L'Afrique du Sud a bien fait comprendre qu'elle ne se ferait pas championne de la cause de Khadafi. Elle a aussi rejeté l'inclusion d'orientations proposées par Khadafi dans la rédaction de la Loi constitutive de l'Union africaine. Nombre de dignitaires sud-africains pensaient que l'image négative de Khadafi dans le monde occidental serait néfaste aux efforts de l'Afrique du Sud pour le succès du NEPAD, que le chef d'État libyen a rejeté comme « une création de capitalistes et de

racistes coloniaux » et un stratagème des impérialistes occidentaux pour garder une fois de plus l'Afrique en otage."

"In 1999, at the end of President Mandela's mandate, it became clear that the South African ambitions to champion Human Rights and democracy in Africa were at a dead end, due to the very fact that non-democratic regimes blocking and abusing human rights with all impunity were very rampant. Right from the beginning, the "moral precedence" of Mandela had declared human rights the corner stone of his foreign policy. In a much read foreign affairs article of 1993, Mandela declared that the foreign policy of South Africa would be founded on the conviction of his party that human rights would have to become the first preoccupation of South African foreign policy. The militancy of South Africa for human rights, her vigorous promotion of democracy and her open condemnation of non-democratic African regimes was never perceived by certain African leaders who reacted by qualifying South Africa as "a little chamberlain of the Western powers at the Southern pole of Africa"... Kadhafi, on realizing that Mbeki and Obasanjo were becoming the great actors of the OAU reform in order to facilitate their personal interests, did also look for a means to project himself. He exploited the platform offered by Pan-Africanism as well as the wealth of his country in natural gas and crude oil in order to remodel his image of the "man of peace". He paid to the Organisation of African Unity the debts of weak African States and furnished financial assistance to Mugabe before the presidential elections of 2002. In return, he was counting on these heads of States to support his idea of the United States of Africa. This messianic vision, which proposed a presidential mandate of five years, a unique continental military force and a common African currency, with the headquarters of the new supranational organization based in Tripoli, appeared less attractive for the majority of African Heads of State. South Africa understood very well that she was not going to be the champion of Kadhafi's cause. She had also rejected the inclusion of the orientations proposed by Kadhafi in the writing of the Constitutive Law of the African Union. A number of South African leaders were thinking that the negative image of Kadhafi in the Western world would render the efforts of South Africa unsuccessful for the creation of the New Partnership for Africa's Development – NEPAD, that the Head of State of Libya had rejected as the "creation of the colonial capitalists and racists" and as a strategy of Western imperialists to continue taking Africa hostage"

It is with this understanding of the intestinal rivalries of the different heads of states within the African Union fighting for their individual interests and projecting their pigeon-hole states, that one can appreciate the failure of the so-called "African Renaissance" of Thabo Mbeki. With all these facts one is forced to draw the conclusion that Thabo Mbeki's "African Renaissance" was still born. For it was not possible that with the neo-liberal economic system

which has created the barbaric exploitation of the natural resources and mineral wealth of the country and subjected 80% of Black people of South Africa desperately poor and hopeless, that Thabo Mbeki could rightly talk of a true “African Renaissance”. Worse still the model on which Thabo Mbeki want to build his African Renaissance is still the very old wineskins of the “Huguenots of Stellenbosch” and the Huguenots’ expansive vineyards he so much cherished in his address to the French National Assembly in 2003.

And Thabo Mbeki creates some confusion in his choice of sponsors for his “African Renaissance” project. The first mistake is that Thabo Mbeki thinks that the European Union was a precursor of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU and the African Union – AU. Whereas in actual fact, the European Union built on the European Economic Community – EEC and the Club of Rome, were inspired from the initiative of Pan–Africanism, the OAU, the African Renaissance which was initiated at the beginning and mid decades of the 20th Century.

But confusion or no confusion notwithstanding, the slur of Thabo Mbeki’s “African Renaissance” is this playing and falling into the laps of the Western powers, like “Molier” in George Orwell’s *Animal Farm*, especially France, and her Western Allies, whom he embraces as the champions of his cause for NEPAD which he hopes will cause his “African Renaissance” to take root. This hypothesis is proven from Thabo Mbeki’s address to the French National Assembly, when he admits that:

“France is an important part of an historic European process. This is the European Union (EU), which already composed of 15 countries, is set to be further enlarged with the addition of ten new members. Europe seems set on an irreversible course towards integration. The modern intelligentsia that emerged in Africa in the 19th century began the movement towards African integration and unity. Today this has found expression in the African Union (AU) and its socio-economic development programme, the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). Together these two initiatives represent Africa’s determined effort to achieve the vision first projected more than a century ago. And because of the example set by the EU, we have drawn on the European experience to design our own Union. For us integration and unity are matters of critical importance. They are of central relevance to the African struggle to defeat poverty and underdevelopment. Many of our countries have very small populations and limited possibilities to develop on their own, relying solely on their resources. Our own experience also tells us that development in one country will inevitably attract people from other countries as economic migrants. This is also facilitated by the fact that very often, the colonial boundaries we inherited have served to divide communities and

families. Taking all these factors into account, and conscious of the imperatives dictated to us by our past, we have as Africans decided that we must do everything we can to determine our own future.”

Garth le Pere (2006) takes Thabo Mbeki to task when he demonstrates that Thabo Mbeki's talk on African Renaissance is built on the neo-liberalist ideology which cannot deliver the goods Thabo Mbeki is expecting from his Western capitalist allies. Since the Western neo-liberalist economies are not Charities for the African hopeless Poor and disinherited masses, who are condemned to the hopeless poverty of their pigeon-hole Nation-States, one wonders how this African Renaissance is going to happen. Thabo Mbeki also well admits, emphasizing the artificial arbitrary boundaries, which divides communities and families, as stumbling blocks to the realization of his objectives. But he is ready to do nothing to promote that unity. Instead he is tacitly promoting the xenophobic ideology growing up in South Africa against other Africans from neighbouring African countries. That is where the observation of Garth le Pere (2006) becomes very interesting to analyse when he says that:

“L'un des éléments de l'action diplomatique sud-africaine pour la paix est de renforcer les objectifs de la Renaissance africaine que le président Mbeki a popularisée à la fin des années 1990. D'un côté, ce concept reflète le discours néo-libéral de l'Afrique du Sud, ce qui apparaît clairement dans la définition officielle : « une vision d'ensemble [...] visant à promouvoir la paix, la prospérité, la démocratie, le développement durable, le leadership progressiste et la bonne gouvernance ». La Renaissance africaine promeut une vision de la reprise économique de l'Afrique, adaptée à la réinvention de l'État africain comme acteur efficace sur la scène nationale aussi bien qu'internationale. Mettre fin au cycle des conflits mortifères de l'Afrique fait partie intégrante de ce processus. En un sens, ce concept se veut aussi une expression de paix durable qui rallie les Africains autour des notions de respect de soi, de dignité et de fierté sur la base de réussites antérieures. Il est porteur d'accents radicaux et de la marque romantique évidente des idées philosophiques plus anciennes du panafricanisme, de la négritude et de la conscience noire. Son romantisme est important en ce qu'il s'oppose à l'« afro-pessimisme » qui continue de contraindre et de forger l'image de l'Afrique. Ce concept a aussi permis d'inspirer de nombreuses institutions qui soutiennent les initiatives sud-africaines pour la paix et veulent renforcer la capacité de l'Afrique du Sud à soutenir les efforts de paix dans les zones de conflit. Le Centre pour les études sur la Renaissance de l'Université d'Afrique du Sud (UNISA), qui a coordonné la formation de hauts fonctionnaires du gouvernement du Soudan du Sud, après la signature de l'accord de

paix global du Soudan en 2005, en est un parfait exemple. Plus important encore, l'idée de la Renaissance africaine a permis de définir les partenariats de l'Afrique du Sud avec d'autres nations africaines, ce qui a conduit au renforcement de la capacité d'institutions continentales et à l'émergence d'un programme africain pour la paix et la sécurité, ainsi qu'à une architecture institutionnelle."

"One of the elements of South African diplomatic action for peace is to reinforce the objectives of the African Renaissance which president Thabo Mbeki has popularized since the end of the 1990s. From one side, this concept reflects the neo-liberal discourse of South Africa, which appears clearly in the official definition: "a holistic vision [...] targeting to promote peace prosperity, democracy, sustainable development, progressist leadership and good governance". The African renaissance promotes a vision of the economic revival of Africa, adapted to the reinvention of the African State as an efficacious actor on the national as well as on the international scene. To put an end to cycle of death-ridden conflicts of Africa constitute the integral part of this process. In one sense, this concept wishes also to become an expression of sustainable peace which rallies Africans to think about notions of self-respect, of dignity and pride on the basis of former successes. It is the carrier of radical emphasis and of the mark of romantic evidence of the most ancient philosophical ideas of Pan-Africanism, of Negritude and of the Black conscience. Its romanticism is important in that it is opposed to "Afro-pessimism" which continues to constrain and forge the image of Africa. This concept has contributed to the inspiration of many institutions which support the South African peace initiatives who wish to reinforce the capacity of South Africa to support its peace efforts in conflict zones. The Centre for the Renaissance of the University of South Africa (UNISA), which coordinated the training of senior civil servants of the South Sudanese government, after the signature of the global peace agreement with Sudan in 2005, is a perfect example of this Renaissance project. More important also, the idea of African Renaissance has contributed to the definition of partnership of South Africa with other African nations, which has led to the reinforcement of the capacity of the continental institutions and the emergence of an African peace and security programme, as well as the emergence of an international architecture."

The question the reader would like ask on reading about these efforts made by South Africa about the African Renaissance programme, is whether South Africa wants to go it all alone. It would seem South Africa wants to use Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance project as a purely South African project, else it is questionable why South Africa did not accept the other all-embracing Pan-African projects of a strong military, a strong economic union and currency and a common Bank of Africa; or just recently South Africa's refusal to host the Pan-African University which was just launched last year.

It would seem more appropriate to conclude that the South African venture of the African Renaissance is focused more to promote the regional force and a regional market with South Africa as the Lordship and steering Head of this Regionalised Federation; rather than promoting the Pan-African common economic and military task force and market. This hypothesis seems more convincing when one realises that South Africa is putting all energies to foster more the Southern African Development Community – SADC front, while shying away from a more all-embracing Pan-African endeavour. South Africa is determined, with its White dominated neo-liberalist economy to confirm the allergies of Whites against Black people as incapable to manage anything good and intelligent. Wherefore if Africa must Unite, it must be ruled by the White-Economic monopolists of Southern Africa or Kenya.

This could explain the power struggle for the African leadership between countries like former Gadhafi Libya, Nigeria and may be Egypt or Algeria. And if this hypothesis is plausibly confirmed then the question is: how sincere and of what use and how effective will become the so-called New Partnership for Africa's Development - NEPAD which was founded by South Africa, Nigeria, Senegal, Algeria and Egypt?

These rumbling questions become more disturbing when we realise that South Africa has its focus more on the SADC venture and confiscating NEPAD than on promoting a liberating NEPAD and the Pan-African liberating Africa Renaissance.

Garth le Pere (2006) gives us a more critical insight with regard to South Africa's strategic position as far as peace and security is concerned. It would seem with all the championing and organisation of NEPAD conferences that the so-called NEPAD is destined to woe gullible Africans to embrace the neo-liberalist economic exploitative system South Africa and her Western Proctors are determined to propagate in the Neo-Colonial States of Africa for the Neo-Colonial Renaissance of Africa. This South African strategy is envisioned to achieve none other than the colonial divide and rule policy and further balkanisation of Africa, where South Africa would emerge as the strong-hold State controlling the old Cecil Rhodes Colonial Federation of Southern African Sates now euphemistically called SADC. Garth le Pere goes on to explain further that:

“Depuis qu'elle est devenue membre de la Southern African Development Community (SADC) en 1996, l'Afrique du Sud a considéré cette organisation comme le véhicule de ses objectifs en Afrique australe. La SADC a été redéfinie comme une unité élémentaire de l'Union africaine et un agent de mise en œuvre du NEPAD en

Afrique australe. En sa qualité de pays président l'Organe de la SADC pour la coopération politique, de défense et de sécurité (OPDSC) entre 2004 et 2005, l'Afrique du Sud a œuvré pour rendre opérationnel le Programme indicatif régional de développement stratégique (RISDP) sur quinze ans, adopté en 2003, afin de faire avancer les priorités du développement régional. Elle a aussi œuvré pour renforcer la prévention des conflits et la capacité de résolution de la SADC à travers le Programme indicatif stratégique de l'Organe (SIPO) en vue de résoudre les questions de paix, de sécurité et de politique. Lors du sommet des chefs d'États de la SADC en 2003, il a été décidé de ratifier le Pacte de défense mutuelle, ce qui a été perçu comme un grand pas vers la réalisation d'une « communauté sécuritaire ». Le Pacte est généralement perçu comme un pas crucial vers l'établissement d'un corps régional de réserve faisant partie des forces de réserve de l'Union africaine. L'objectif de juin 2005 pour la mise en place du corps régional d'intervention rapide n'a pas été atteint, bien que le ministre sud-africain de la Défense, Mosiuoa Lekota, ait déclaré que les pays membres se sont engagés à fournir plus de 6 000 soldats au corps.»

“Since it became a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1996, South Africa has considered this organization as a vehicle for achieving her objectives in southern Africa. SADC was defined as an elementary (hot house) unit of the African Union as well as the anchor base for NEPAD in Southern Africa. In its quality as the presiding country of SADC's Organ for Political, Defense and Security Cooperation (OPDSC) between 2004 and 2005, South Africa has worked, since her adoption of the programme in 2003, to render operational the Regional indicated Strategic Development Programme (RISDP) for fifteen years, in order to advance the priorities of the regional development. She also worked to reinforce conflict prevention and on the capacity building of conflict resolution in the SADC region through the Strategic Indicative Programme of the Organisation (SIPO) in view of resolving peace issues, security and political issues. During the SADC Head of States Summit in 2003, it was decided that the Pact of Mutual Defense should be ratified, and this was perceived as a great step towards the realisation of a security community. The pact was generally perceived as a crucial step towards the establishment of a regional reserve corps that would become a part of the reserve forces of the African Union. The objective of June 2005 for the establishment of a regional rapid intervention corps was not attained, even though the South African minister of Defense, Mosiuoa Lekota, had declared that the member states were committed to furnish 6,000 soldiers to the corps.”

It would seem South African ambitions to recreate and reinvent the wheel of the New African Renaissance; or rather the Re-Renaissance of Africa is intended to establish and confirm her hegemony in Southern Africa in respect of the French government's warning to South Africa to stay off its zone of

strategic influence. Thabo Mbeki's courting and wooing the French to support his NEPAD programme and for his bid to become the first African Power in the Security Council against Nigeria or Egypt only goes to confirm this obsequious diplomacy that was being played at the expense of the Organisation of the African Unity and the African Union; as it was also counter-productive for the very African Renaissance which Thabo Mbeki was advocating with mouth-washing tactics.

Thabo Mbeki did not mince his words in his address to the French National Assembly when he reiterated the key role France and Chirac and the Western Super Powers had to play to foster his ambitions in Africa and in the international world, when he acknowledged that:

"But it is also clear that it will be extremely difficult for us to achieve our goal of the social and economic renewal of Africa without the support of France and the rest of the developed world. In this context, I must express our deep appreciation for the G8 support for NEPAD and the important role of President Jacques Chirac in this regard."

This explains why Muammar Gadhafi considered Thabo Mbeki and Olusegun Obasanjo not just as sell outs but puns in the hands of the neo-liberalist capitalist and the neo-imperialist Western Powers in Africa. He even tried to classify them as the Western CIA Economic Hit-men in "African Clothes but actually European Clothing," in Africa in same rhyme and meaning as Frantz Fanon's "Black Skin, White Mask" version.

It appears absurd that sister African countries made a ridicule of themselves by competing to outdo each other in the Security Council bid, instead of standing as one voice to ask for an African candidature in the Security Council. How long will the West pit Africans against each other, just as Chirac boldly told Thabo Mbeki, who believed him when he proposed to be his tour-guide and mentor in Africa, during his Ivory Coast's Peace Talks, deliberately and flauntly aborted by the neo-capitalist Western Powers and the UN, that South Africans are superior to and more rational and have achieved the Western Racist Intelligence Quotient – IQ, than their West African counterparts, who are still classified as suffering from their collective memory of childhood rationality. The sad truth is Thabo Mbeki, La Fontain's Crow and the Fox, gloated in the filthy Western Aesthetic Feathers Chirac was pluming him with to cut his nose to spite his face, and deny his own identity. Thabo Mbeki in his gloated pride and chicken-hearted obsequious fear, did not dare to rebuke Chirac publicly when he made his public proposal. As the saying

goes that silence means approval, we could hold that Thabo Mbeki approved and accepted Chirac's abusive language on his brothers and sisters, because he believed his "Black Soul and Black Mind" had been Neo-colonially washed to be "Whiter than Snow".

That is why the creation of the *Southern African Development Community* - SADC States and NEPAD are perceived by other African states and some critics as a testimony of this neo-colonial policy of the exploitation of Africa for the interest of the former colonial masters through South Africa in her African Clothing but European Clothing of CIA Economic Hit-Men.

The proof is that even after Muammar Gaddafi fought, before his assassination by the Western Omnipotent NATO Americano-Franco-Britannican Super-Powers, that African Union-States should create an African Bank worthy of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund; and an African Defence System strong enough to withstand the threats of the Western Super Powers; South Africa totally ignored this proposal and instead went on championing the neo-colonial Brazilian-Russian-India-China-South African - BRICS Bank of the Neo-Colonial Globalisation.

South Africa's recent refusal to host the Pan-African University School of Outer-Space engineering, even when Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma is the present Chair of the AU, under the pretext that the African Union would benefit from their expertise only goes on to show this neo-colonial policy and competitive tendency and rivalry for leadership in Africa of Post-Apartheid South Africa with regard to the rest of Africa.

South Africa's Neo-Colonial African Renaissance policy has proven to be very haughty and offish, if not competitive, with regard to the rest of its African member states of the OAU-AU since its Post-Apartheid experience. Ever since Post-Apartheid South Africa emerged as a so-called "Rainbow State," the Rainbow has only arched out in the horizon of Southern Africa with the deliberate exclusion of the rest of Sub-Saharan and North African States and their peoples who are xenophobically excluded in the so-called Rainbow Nation, fit only for Whitened-Black and Snow-White-Coloured South Africans.

This is where the so much hullabaloo about "African Renaissance" by Thabo Mbeki seems to be more a mouth wash detergent tactics of re-colonisation of Africa by Europe and America through South Africa. Certainly, it could be admitted that before Thabo Mbeki made his pronouncements on African Renaissance, he was quite aware that that was not the first time that this fine and dignified notion was brought to the front stage of Pan-Africanism discourse.

The Harlem Renaissance which was championed by Hubert Henry Harrison and Langston Hughes and a few forward-looking “Negroes” at the time, in the early 1920s, was intended to serve as a platform for the rebirth and reclaiming of the originality, creativity and entrepreneurial skills of Black people in America to reconstruct their African Identity. What is embarrassing is that Thabo Mbeki uses the term African Renaissance as if it is very pristine and original. Thabo Mbeki wants to re-invent the wheel when Africa is actually more forward-looking since the Heinemann African Writers Series creative reconstruction and re-invention and reviews of Africa. Can Thabo Mbeki give the New Africa a revolutionary development manifesto worthy of the Toussaint L'Ouverture pro-action, which Karl Marx fashioned in his theory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat? Can he also like Frantz Fanon, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Amílcar Cabral and Cheikh Anta Diop or even the Green Book of Muammar Gadhafi give us the way forward in the 21st century so that we might digest what his African Renaissance is all about?

That is why the discourse on African Renaissance by Professor Dani Wadada Nabudere (2005) when he pleads for an AFRIKOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION AND AFRICAN REGENERATION seems rather hollow because it is not saying anything new with regard to the original Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance, and the revolutionary Pan-Africanism as proposed by vibrant Pan-Africanists like Muammar Gadhafi, Amílcar Cabral, Frantz Fanon and Cheikh Anta Diop, when he admits that:

“African scholars must pursue knowledge production that can renovate African culture, defend the African peoples dignity and civilisational achievements and contribute afresh to a new global agenda that can push us out of the crisis of modernity as promoted by the European Enlightenment. Such knowledge must be relevant to the current needs of the masses, which they can use to bring about a social transformation out of their present plight. We cannot just talk about the production of ‘knowledge for its own sake’ without interrogating its purpose. There cannot be such a thing as the advancement of science for its own sake. Those who pursue ‘science for its own sake’ find that their knowledge is used for purposes, which they may never have intended it for. Eurocentric knowledge is not produced just for its own sake. Its purpose throughout the ages has been to enable them to ‘know the natives’ in order to take control of their territories, including human and material resources [Said, 1978] for their benefit. Such control of knowledge was used to exploit the non-European peoples, colonise them both mentally and geo-strategically, as well as subordinate the rest of the world to their designs and interests.”

When he goes further to eulogise on the problematisation and the interrogation of the African Renaissance, he is not saying much that is new, especially bearing in mind that with Frantz Fanon, Amical Cabral, Cheikh Anta Diop, Walter Rodney, Wole Soyinka, Pan-Africanism had moved away from the elitist academic armchair milieu, from the Club of African Statesmen, to the masses and the underprivileged poor of Africa, of the Diaspora in the Americas, Papua New Guinea, Caledonia, Australia and Oceania; and the world humanity at large.

Actually the African Re-Renaissance today should try to move away from this tight laboratory hot-house kind of the “Talented Tenth” of WEB DuBois and move the “Street-Schools” of the urban poor of the Kabera, the Guguletu, the Briqueteries and New Bells, the Obilies, the Ajekonles; and the rural masses of Africa to embrace the youths and the common person in a more pragmatic and entrepreneurial manner than before.

If we have to consecrate more time in Afrikologising to see to what colour-mutations are the transformation impacts on Africans of today and their culture and knowledge; without the right technology transfer to enhance African indigenous knowledge and technology for the new productive forces of Africa as proposed by Amical Cabral, Cheikh Anta Diop and Samir Amin, we might remain at the threshold of honing our “Tigritude” instead of pouncing on our preys and devouring them. Professor Dani Wadada Nabudere (2005) seems to be of the same opinion when he admits that:

“The issue of an African Renaissance, which has been advanced politically, especially by President Mbeki, cannot just be viewed as an event in the politics of the African political elites, although that may be their purpose. It has to be taken up, problematised, interrogated, and given meaning that goes beyond the intentions of its authors and involve the masses of the African people in it if it has the potentiality to mobilise. It can be used as an occasion for beginning the journey of African psychological, social, cultural as well as the political liberation. It can also be used as a mobilisation statement and the basis for articulating an African agenda for knowledge production that is not just relevant to African conditions, but also sets an agenda for the reclaiming of African originality of knowledge and wisdom, which set the rest of human society on the road of civilisation. The attempt made to establish the Centre of African Renaissance Studies-CARS must be seen as just one example of such attempts. But for this attempt to succeed it has to begin by challenging the dominant Eurocentric world outlook, philosophies and epistemologies, which still defiantly continue to disorganise the African continent turning it into a backyard of imperialist exploitation and plunder. The Eurocentric knowledge of us, which we call ‘scientific knowledge’, still dominates the

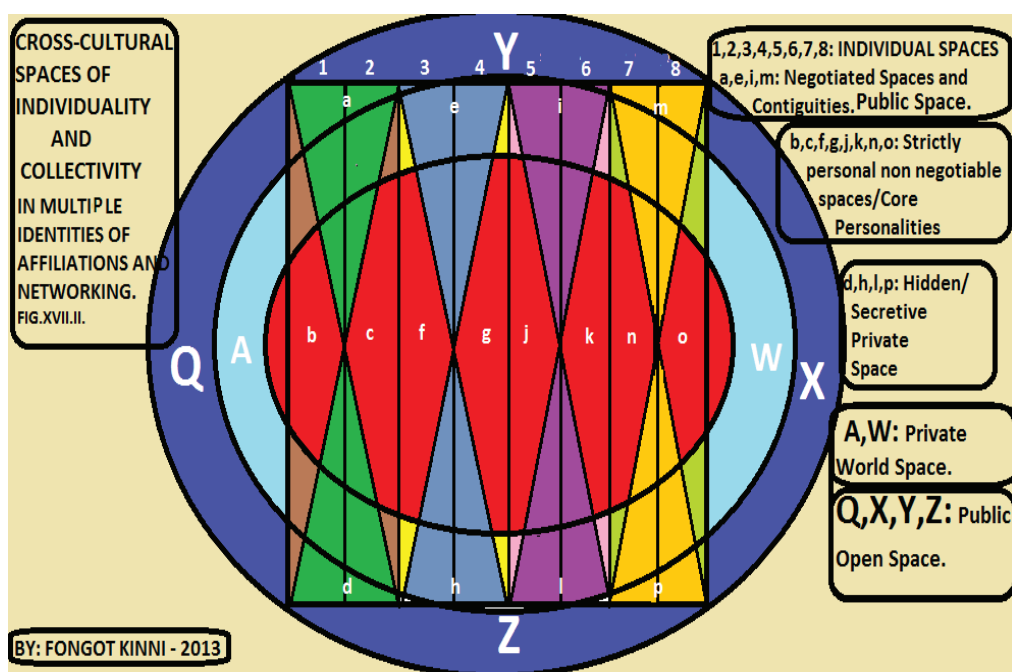
psychology of the African political, economic and academic elites and through religion, the African masses as well."

16.3. Pan-Africanism and Problem of African Identity

The problem of the Pan-African Identity has always been raised since the time of its origin and mutations that went on till today. But it must be understood, that the issue of establishing identities is a very complex matter just as it is a cross-cultural and multicultural affair. This means that an individual can belong to a multi-spacean, multi-ideological, multi-social, multi-communitarian and a multi-national identities at the same time. It is in the same manner as many individuals can and do actually belong biologically to multi-ethnic identities at the same time.

For instance, an individual, like the author belongs to a multi-ethnic identity in that his father is Kom-Kidjoem-Dutch-Irish while his mother is Chamba-Tadkon; his maternal grandmother is Tadkon from Ashong, while the maternal grandfather is Chamba-Bamum-Tikari; while his paternal grandmother is Kom-Jukun-Ake-Noni-Babesi-Njinasung, and the paternal grandfather is Kom-Ndobo-Aboh-Ikwi-Kidjoem. He has also given him other identities, by affiliation to half-brothers and half-sisters to the Bafaw, the Bassosi-Nguti, the Ikoi-Boki of Nigerian-Cameroonian border, the Calabar-Effik, the Igbo-Arochukwu, the Yoruba and the Jukun-Akwangar-Jos of Nigeria. Apart from his African identity, he also has by affiliations, and cousins who are Kom-English-Lebanese, and nephews who are Kom-Swedish-Scandinavian; while he can call himself a Kom-Chamba-Tadkon European by adoption by the Italian, the German, the French, the English and the Finish adoptive parentage through the educational culture. Ideologically and Religiously he is also a Roman Catholic and by affiliation a Protestant, a Muslim and a Jew (Judaism). The truth is that these multiple identities have always been used assertively at various crucial circumstances and they have always played in his favour throughout his life depending on how and where and when he conjures them into his social networking and Social capital for his benefit.

It all boils down to one fact and truth that identities are usually defined by alluding to people, natural material and cultural and social artificial spaces of birth, affiliations and education, the ideologies and religions we hold or belong to; which in turn become spaces of social and spiritual networking and influence. All these spaces and peoples that determine our identities can be summarised in this diagrammatic presentation bellow (Fig. XVII.II.):



This diagram gives us a good appreciation of how multiple identities in cross-cultural settings emerge. From the diagram one can notice how individuals 1, 2,3,4,5,6,7,8 have their individual experiential spaces and cultures that build up their individual and personal identities. At the same time it shows how these individual spaces and identities can be negotiated where individuals 1 and 2, even though they share a common identity with 3, 4,5,6,7,8, within the larger contextual public space of QXYZ, are more intimately related and united than with 3 and 4, or with 5 and 6, or 7 and 8; just as 3 and 4, or 5 and 6, are more intimately related than to 1 and 2, 7 and 8 and vice versa. Then one also realizes that while the common space of A and W are spaces of shared intimacy, it also represents the very private and restrictive spaces like d, h, l, p, where certain intimacies are never shared at all or are rarely shared or are sometimes shared depending of the depth of the intimacy and identity networking.

The studies and research of Obiagiele Lake (1995) entitled: *Toward a Pan-African Identity: Diaspora African Repatriates in Ghana*, shows the multi-dimensional manner in which African Americans of African Caribbean identify their Africanness and live and interact with other Africans. He goes on to illustrate how:

“Diaspora Africans are joined by other diasporized peoples who have also created notions of broader kinship alliances in order to more effectively wage struggles against European and European American hegemonic institutions. Pan-ethnic formulations among First Nation people, for example, clearly resonate with diaspora African collective responses to colonialism and racism. Trottier (1981: 271-305) draws on the struggles of various First Nation groups to point out the circumstantial aspects of pan-ethnic allegiances. He proposes that “an ethnic group is an interest group with something extra: the belief by its members in their mutual relationship of shared descent-in being fundamentally the same people.” Similar to diaspora Africans, Native Americans constitute a variety of different cultures, but have been seeking unity across cultural boundaries in order to regain cultural and territorial sovereignty. Pan-Indian efforts gain sustenance from the notion of sameness which derives from a common history of exploitation, broken treaties and decimation which rendered First Nation people deterritorialized in their own lands.”

If we consider our identities as Africans and people of African descent, we realise that certain factors come into play when we identify ourselves. Very often the continental space factor, the race factor of common origin, the sub-ethnicities factor, and the various natural material environments and the artificial cultural and social historical spaces and economic circumstances that have forged and moulded our identities: like our religions and belief systems, or when our educational levels of understanding people, come into play. The various and multiple identities we all hold and belong to build up the larger picture for us; just as the various influences and impacts these identities have in our lives and those of other people we interact with on a daily basis also come into play.

Obiagele Lake well demonstrates this in his work of Diasporan returnees to Africa who are spurred on by this aspect of race and origin. He elaborates that:

“Trottier and others (Trosper 1981; Nagata 1976) suggest that the primordialist and circumstantialist approaches to ethnic identity are not discrete, antithetical entities, each struggling for supremacy. Instead, aspects of common origins(for example, racial, territorial, or religious ones) have been primordialized to serve as a charter for people of different cultures to forge common identities around issues of mutual concern. While Diaspora Africans have utilized the connection of racial and economic exploitation to formulate a kinship idiom, Native Americans “have seen that the shared historical experience of [broken treaties] has provided Indians with a plan of action and a set of demands” In addition, attention has been paid to various Asian populations and their efforts to establish identities that are at variance with administrative labels (Nagata

1976, 1981). The literature on Asian alliances and ethnic conflicts (Obeyesekere 1975; Ichioka 1971; Thomas 1972) as well as those of other groups (Seligson 1983; Lee and De Vos 1984; Glick 1982; Neusner 1989) is particularly instructive as it addresses political and economic factors which influence the designation of cultural and national categories. Diaspora Africans are similarly influenced given that the masses of people in the diaspora remain culturally, politically, and economically impoverished and are, under current conditions, unable to define their own destinies. Repatriation has been offered as a strategy to mitigate these conditions since the end of slavery in the western hemisphere. Kwame Toure and his All African People's Revolutionary Party constitute the most ardent proponents of holistic pan-Africanism and repatriation. Tours asserts that the only way for diaspora Africans to gain political-economic self-determination lies in the establishment of a land-base in Africa (Carmichael 1969; Toure 6 n.d.). Like Marcus Garvey (Garvey 1971; Martin 1983) before him, Toure does not advocate the mass migration of diaspora Africans to Africa, but contends that diaspora Africans find themselves at a perpetual cultural and material disadvantage outside of a land that they can call their own."



Photos 298 (a),(b) & (c): - Delja Mae Nchami nee Della Mae Suckins: 1935 – In The USA And In Cameroon

A study carried out by the author with students from the University of Buea, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, on the problem of African identity, we interrogated three African Americans, and African Caribbean who are married to Cameroonian men and have stayed in Africa for almost the last sixty years.

Victor and Abongwa Victor focused on: “The African-American Perception of Gender Management in Cameroon Politics and Societies, Case Studies of Della Mae Suckins 1958 – Date.”

Della Mae Suckins, who now lives in Bambui, Bamenda, testifies she came to Cameroon with her husband Mr. Vincent Chungong Nchami born August 18, 1925, in the late Fifties. Her choice of an African husband was at the height of the Civil Rights Movement in America. She remembers she participated in the Civil Rights Movement actively before coming to Cameroon.

Ngoindong Majorie Atong focused on: “African-American Gender Perceptions and Experiences In Cameroon: A Cross-Cultural Case Study With Two Women – Mrs Maryann M. Mukete and Mrs. Patricia Elonge N. Blea.”

Mrs. Maryann Middlebrook is from the USA and she is married to Cameroonian, Chief Mukete, since 1978.

Mrs. Patricia Blea Elonge is from Guyana, She came to Cameroon as a young French teacher in 1963 and taught in the Bilingual Grammar School ManOwarbay (Limbe). She is married to Honourable Elonge in 1968.

Talking about identity, Della Mae Suckins believe that there is identity which is gender based and an identity which is primarily interest-based, making racial identity minimal or insignificant. That is why Della Mae Suckins and Abongwa Victor, (2011) in this study, consider gender as:

“Gender is a set of characteristics distinguishing between male and female, particularly in the cases of men and women. Depending on the context, the discriminating characteristics vary from sex to social roles to gender identity. Categorising males and females into social roles creates barriers, in which individual feel they have to be at one end of a linear spectrum and must identify themselves as man or woman. Globally, communities interpret biological differences between men and women to create a set of social expectations that define the behaviour that are “appropriate” for men and women and determine women’s and men’s different access to rights, resources, power in society and even health behaviours. Although the specific nature and degree of these differences vary from one society to the next, they typically favour me, creating an imbalance in power and gender inequalities in all countries. The context of this study is Cameroon... It is one of the most diverse countries in terms of ethnicity with different cultural practices that directly or indirectly promote different gender stereotypes.”

Della Mae Suckins went on to say the question of Identity was rather fluid in terms of gender, because it is normal that people of the same race discriminate when it comes to gender.

Maryann Middlebrook and Patricia Blea seem to have the same idea regarding gender (Maryann Middleton, Patricia Blea and Ngoindong Marjorie Atong, 2011) when they also developed the inequalities of the sexes, between males and females in Cameroon. In discussing the inequalities in Gender, the women defined gender as:

"...A psycho-social and culturally constituted term, used to distinguish the male and the female in society. It actually refers to the economic, political and socio-cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female. Most societies put a difference, as to activities males and females undertake, their access and control to resources and their participation in decision-making... in the family, these women explained that generally, more respect is given to men than women both within the family and the general society. However this also depends greatly on the individuals concerned especially in recent times... in politics and in public institutions,...gender differences and unequal treatments that are persistent from the time they came Cameroon till now. First only a few women are involved in political issues which have been "hijacked" by the men. Very few whom are allowed to hold top positions in institutions. They also observed that in most public ministries, there is a bias towards women with regards to dressing because some ministries state that some cannot enter buildings dressed in pants/trousers."

They thus concluded by stating that there are no Women Governors in Cameroon out the ten Governors of the Regions; only 4 Women ministers who make 11.1% of the 36 ministers in the country; and 25 Parliamentarians who constitute 13.8 % of the 180 Parliamentarians.

Therefore race is not a suiting distinction when it comes to speaking of Identity even though race might sometimes have a lee way when it comes to speaking about identity and power. This is the reason why Della Mae Suckins and Abongwa Victor (2011) arrive the conclusion that:

"Cameroon's Constitution upholds the principle of gender equality. However, the country has a complex legal system comprising a mix of Napoleonic Code and Common Law, as well as Customary and written Laws. This structure is often an obstacle to gender equality. Local traditions also remain very strong, and have negative effects on the situation of Cameroon women. To date the country has no legal definition for discrimination and some points of civil law remain prejudicial against women. African women and most especially Cameroon Women have been subjected to an array of gender inequalities and one might think the experience will be different for a stranger. But then it will be interesting to find out that even someone, an African-American, coming from a society where it is believed gender equality is the order of the day and even if there exist some forms of inequality it is such a scale that can be negligible, still happens to have almost the same experience as other African and Black Women in terms of

discrimination, not only as a woman but as a Black Woman who used to live in America, where although there was feminism, did not meet the immediate needs of a Black Woman like herself.”



Photos 298 (d) & (e): Della Mae Suckins Welcoming Ambassadors As The Prime Minister's Secretary, West Cameroon, 1965; Della Mae Suckins With Husband Vincent Chungong Nchami And Children

It is true that for Della Mae Suckins, as an African American Woman in Cameroon insisted that her identity was ambiguous. Even though she was African, she was still discriminated as a Black Woman in the United States, she realised that it was the same in Cameroon and she had to be tough to shoulder the burden on women in this Victorianised and Traditionally-driven societies where the Black Woman was still at the level of the “Glass Ceiling” or “Glass-Worldly” where she could only see but not touch and taste the other good things the men were enjoying. That is why this study (Della Mae Suckins and Abongwa Vistor, 2011) was bent on asking a few pertinent questions:

“How therefore did she overcome the challenges on the new world and cope in such a society with the realities described above? Why was her experience different despite what was going on in Cameroon at the time she was fully engaged in civil administration? Did her experience (racial discrimination) influence the way she got integrated into society wherein some jobs, rights and privileges are farfetched and just like the transparent glass mirror or the glass ceiling where one can only see and be able to touch and attain? If Della Mai Sunkins, an African-American in Cameroon society, despite the challenges she had gone through on a new land, and culture could overcome all the challenges and distinguish herself, what therefore are those god practices that other women must copy to have a success story, is why this research is desirable.”

Della Mae Suckins admitted that her colour played her an ambiguous role. She realised that as an African American woman, she could scale up to the top of the ladder just like her husband because she was very educated in Administration and Management just like her husband was, and who was also highly educated and was the topmost District Officer of the State of West Cameroon. Actually Della Mae Suckins served as a role model to most Cameroonian women who were aspiring for higher education in the United States, in England, abroad and in the country.

As a Black woman she also merged easily with the society and the community in which she lived. To affirm her Africanness she named her first daughter CAMERICA to cement the tie between the Cameroons and America. But what distinguished her from the other Cameroonian women was her American Assertiveness as a Woman and as a Black woman and as an African American.

She supervised the many men who were placed in offices below her because of her education and because she was competent. She did sometimes feel like the Black American Peace Corps Volunteers who usually complained that they were treated more like second class to the White Peace Corps Volunteers because they were Black. But the problem of the Black Peace Corps should be taken as very special and could also be to the fact that they might not have portrayed the cannons of the Black Educated Victorianised Woman who usually was treated differently from an ordinary Black Woman. The fact is that Black Educated Victorianised women, because of their Westernisation and Whitisation, are always very flashy and cute-looking from the “Buyam-Sellams”. This is not to say that Black Volunteers dressed like “Buyam-Sellams”. The truth is that the Black Volunteers, like their White counterparts were never flashily dressed. And so while the White Volunteers were taken for their colours the Black Volunteers were also treated like any other African Black Woman.

It is true that for Della Mae Suckins who was also an African-American she stood out right from the beginning as the Black-White Woman because of her Education and because of her status as a Woman Educated and married to the Upper Class of society, she was given all the respect that she deserved, sometimes because of her Education, and sometimes because of her husband, but not because she was Black.

That is why Maryaan Middlebrooke and Patricia Blea admitted (Ngoindong Marjorie Atong) that:

“...gender issues and manifestations these women accept are greatly shaped by the cultural context in which a people find themselves. They are both married to Cameroonians one to Chief Mukete and the other to honourable Elonge but have not been exposed to such situations aforementioned. Contrarily, they were welcome into their new families, without much tension. This was probably because they are black-skin.”

When Della Mae Suckins was asked whether colour was essential in identity, she said yes and no. Yes because colour made one to stand out visually like a White or Black Woman. No because one could be White or Black in colour and not portray visually and spiritually the culture one is carrying. She gave me examples of her friends who were American or British and White like Mrs. Catherine Ngu, and others but who were African in culture and behaviour because they were married to Cameroonians and were living in Cameroon for a long time.

Talking about the Arab being considered as an African, she said it depended on the Arab. Some Arabs believe they are White or Arab and not African but other Arabs believe they are Arab and African and behave like Africans. There are also many whites of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Kenya or even in Cameroon who consider themselves African and not European from their skin colour. They are Chinese and Indians in South Africa and Mauritius who consider themselves African in identity and not Chinese or Indian. So it difficult to tell in a White and Black manner, in a yes or no answer, or give any straight forward answer in these complex situations.

And so the question remains to know whether: is the African always Black or could she be also White and Arabe or Chinese, Indian or Mongolian, Madagascan and Malaysian?

Maryann Middlebooke and Patricia Blea were of the same opinion like Della Mae Suckins who did not perceive Identity as coming from a racial factor. They thought that Identity depended more on Interest and the Freewill Decision to belong to a group or community and had nothing to do with race.

Anthony Enahoro will stand out as the Nigerian who raised the problem of African identity and who is African in Pan Africanism. Enahoro had proven his nationalism and Pan Africanism both at the national and international level. Apart from the fact that his cool headedness had made him the right hand man of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and the youngest Editor In Chief in Nigeria at the age of 21, his nationalism shone as early as 1953 when he moved the motion of Nigeria's independence in the Federal House of Assembly in 1953.



Photos 299 (a), (b) &(c): Anthony Enahoro: 22nd July 1923-15th December 2010

The Centre for Black Arts and Culture
<http://www.cbaac77.com/index.php> and Yeye Akilimali Funua Olade
<http://yeyeolade.wordpress.com/2007/04/05/a-black-agenda-for-the-bl...>
 confirm that:

“Chief Enahoro became the editor of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe’s newspaper, the Southern Nigerian Defender, Ibadan, in 1944 at the age of 21, thus becoming Nigeria’s youngest editor ever. He later became the editor of Zik’s Comet, Kano, 1945-49, also associate editor West African Pilot, Lagos, editor-in-chief Morning Star, 1950-53... Chief Anthony Enahoro’s attempt to move the motion for Nigeria’s independence in 1953 failed. His motion was rejected by Parliament and the northern MP’s actually staged a walkout as a consequence of the attempt. The successful movement of the motion for Nigeria’s independence did not take place until 1958. After Enahoro’s initial attempt in 1953, Chief S.L. Akintola attempted to move the second motion for Nigeria’s independence in 1957 and though his motion was passed by Parliament it was not acquiesced to by the British colonial authorities and it therefore failed. The successful moving of the motion for Nigeria’s independence did not take place until August 1958 and this was done by Chief Remi Fani-Kayode. Fani-Kayode’s motion was not only passed by Parliament but it was also acquiesced to by the British. His motion had called for independence to be granted to Nigeria on April 2nd 1960 and though it was passed by Parliament and acquiesced to by the British a slight amendment proposing that the month of independence should be moved from April 2nd to October 1st was proposed by a fourth motion to Parliament by Sir Tafawa Balewa in 1959 and it was passed. As a consequence of that Nigeria gained her independence in 1960.”

Enahoro came into prominence again when he was nominated to head the FESTAC in 1977 and had to oppose Alioune Diop, his counterpart from Senegal, from restricting the Arabs from attending the Festival. His argument was that since they were already accepted as members of the Organisation of African Unity - OAU, he did not see how they could be excluded from the Festival of Black Arts and Culture.

Actually Enahoro was aware that even though there were Arab States of North Africa, there were also elements of Africanness and Blackness among them, starting from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. He knew that Arabism was just a smear on Blackness which was the fundamental essence of their lives. He knew that before the Arabs migrated to North Africa there were Blacks before them and the substratum of the so-called Arab and Arab Culture and Art was Black.

Actually the FESTAC was a follow-up of the Festival of the Black Art and Culture fostered by Présence Africaine in Paris, which was a neo-colonial arm of the French, sponsored by General Charles De Gaulle.

Essentially it could be called the “Glorification of the Harlem Renaissance in Paris” by the French and Black African Artists and Writers who wanted to uphold Blackness and Negritude. According to The Centre For Black Arts and Culture <http://www.cbaac77.com/index.php> and Yeye Akilimali Funua Olade <http://yeyeolade.wordpress.com/2007/04/05/a-black-agenda-for-the-bl...>:

*“The origins of FESTAC 77 go back to the spirit which first initiated the founding of literary journal **Présence Africaine** under Alioune Diop’s editorship in 1947. Présence Africaine produced the first Congress of Negro Writers and Artists in Paris in 1956 and this meeting established the Society for African Culture, which later convened the Second Congress in Rome in 1959... Under the co-patronage of Senghor and General de Gaulle, the First World Festival of Black Arts or World Festival of Negro Arts was a Franco-Senegal platform for negritude that celebrated black African culture. As Senghor declared in his opening address, at the first festival at Dakar, “In a word, if we have assumed the terrible responsibility of organizing this festival, it is for the defense and illustration of negritude.”*

Actually it must be understood here that the French who thought the FESTAC was a “French Child” and inspiration as well as a French sponsorship who could not afford to see it Algerianised or Arabised since the French had just suffered defeat from Algeria. It was also another way of saying that Algeria like all the so-called Arab Africa had nothing Black, since the French coined the term “L’Afrique Blanche” “White Africa” to distinguish and the French did not want the contamination of the FESTAC into a Revolutionary Movement as the Algerians had wished. For the Algerians Culture was at the core of all Festivals and Revolutions commemorating the past of any people. France was not able to handle such a slap in face. France

did not want the contained culture of Africa to become to tool for a new African Revolution. The Centre For Black Arts and Culture seems to suggest this when it confirms that:

“In contrast to Dakar, First Pan African Cultural Festival/PANAF held in Algiers in 1969 responded to the nationalist revolutionary politics of the era and proposed culture as tool of liberation... The tension between the two festival different understandings of the role of culture came to a head at FESTAC...The two top positions of the festival, those of President and Secretary General were occupied by a Nigerian, Enahoro, and a Senegalese, Diop. They soon found themselves at loggerheads over North Africa’s participation in the festival... Senegal wanted to exclude the North Africans from the colloquium as “outsiders.” The Nigerians opposed it, on the basis of their membership in the OAU.



Photo 300 (a) Members of the FESTAC 1977

Sehngor (West Africa, June 7, 1976, p. 795.) who was supported and instigated by France made a passing remark that:

“The Nigerian Government does not have many cultural qualities and is confusing culture with politics.”

Nigeria (West Africa, June 7, 1976, p. 795) retorted by saying that:

“Senghor/ Senegal seems determined as the flag carrier of Francophonie”

That is why The Centre For Black Arts and Culture confirms that:

“Senegal chose the issue of North African participation in FESTAC as a challenge to Nigeria and lost.”

It was from this FESTAC of 1976 that the forum for Black Arts and Couture was initiated in 1977 sponsored by Nigeria and spread through the Universities and embraced the common people. It would appear this Nigerian spirit of Pan Africanism has paid off largely in the NOLLYWOOD that has gained a lot of ground on practical Pan Africanism in showcasing African Culture and Africanness, not only in Nigeria but in Africa and the world at large. This seems to be what The Centre for Black Arts and Culture is alluding to when it says:

‘THE BIRTH OF THE NEO BLACK MOVEMENT OF AFRICA:

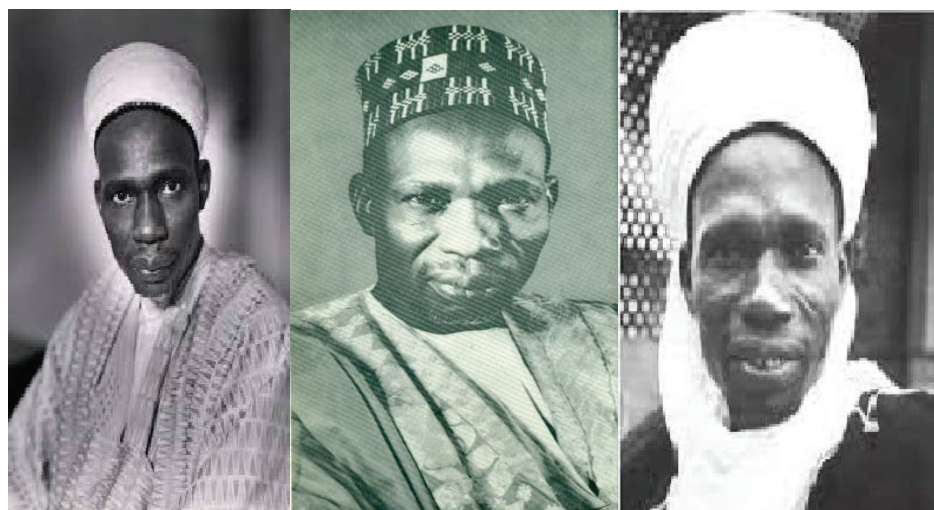
In July 7, 1977, a number of 9 undergraduate students from the University of Benin, Benin now Edo state convened due to the ongoing pan Africanism trend which was particularly influenced by the (FESTAC 77) to establish a university based association which its two core objectives were to be:

- 1. The total emancipation of black man on earth, and*
- 2. To bear forth the largest black organisation on planet earth which would engineer the African Renaissance. The Neo Black Movement Worldwide originated from the old Benin kingdom which stands as cradle of modern civilisation to Africans and the world at large, with its high number of fearless advocates for Africa Freedom, it (the group) was meant to serve as a remedy to the African Predicaments especially the issues of social inequality, racial imbalance, socio-economic under-developments, poor social infrastructure, end to apartheid rule in South Africa. With the rising concerns on the status of black man across the globe, from the tragedy of colonial oppression to the ruins of apathy rule that befell our brothers and sisters in south Africa, there could be no more direct approach to prevent the future re-occurrence of such inhuman treatments of Africans than to create an intellectually pan Africanist movement with a little touch of militancy to distil discipline and high morales in the youth whom shall find in them the duty to protect the remains of Africa from Neo-colonial suppression and lastly to forestall the total of collapse of the continent. It was on these premises that the Neo Black Movement was established. Few years after the creation of the movement, with several individual interests leading to the expansion of the movement, it soon began to spread outside the four walls of the cradle University of Benin to other Universities i.e. University of Ibadan, University of Calabar, Auch State Polythecnic, Delta State University etc. Years after, the founding fathers and board of the movement made a bold step to register the movement with the Nigeria Government- Cooperate Affairs Commission (CAC) which further invigorated the growth of the movement. CENTER FOR BLACK ARTS AND CULTURE (CBAAC): In 1979, The Nigerian Government created this agency to serve as a means of immortalising the (FESTAC*

77). It had done so to secure the continuous existence of the land mark achievements the event recorded. Its establishment was backed by Decree 69 of 1979 and has since been brought under the supervision of the Federal Ministry of Tourism, Culture and National Orientation. The Centre for Black Arts and Culture had worked in its given capacity to promote socio-cultural heritage in Nigeria. Since the drafting of the decree in 1979, the agency had displayed its dynamic qualities by being able to work with other international agency in the diaspora to bring about a renaissance of the Afrocentrism. Events such as workshops national and international conferences, public lectures, seminars, symposia, workshops and exhibitions to promote understanding and appreciation of Black and African Culture. Vision: "To be the foremost Agency for the advocacy of culture in Nigeria and Africa."

This goes to show that Nigeria's lead in spreading the Culture and the Arts of Africa is not unfounded or by accident. Nigeria has really worked practically and strategically for years, for this first place to be Africa's leader in pragmatic Pan Africanism as the leader of Africa. This also goes on to show how the likes of Nationalists, Statesmen and Pan Africanists like Anthony Enahoro can inspire for more than a generation the youths of Nigeria and Africa to take up and hoist the banner of Pan Africanism throughout Africa and the World. Anthony Enahoro believed that one could be Arab, but one could also be African, by choice and by conviction and not merely by race or religion. He thought that Pan Africanism was not founded on racism and racialisation as the basis of Identity. According to him Pan African Humanism was very necessary and he considered Nigeria and Africa as a multi-cultural setting of Muslims and Christians and African-Religionists, as well as Black and Arabic and European. Another Nigerian who like Ehanoro upheld the idea of Pan Africanism based on its Humanism and not on race was Sir Abubacar Tafawa Balewa. He was a seasoned African who did not buy the idea of African personality, if for him, personality meant affirming some particular trait of being human as an African. He believed in African Humanism because he said that the African was a human being like any other person with the attributes, rights and responsibilities. He did not see how being African was different from being Human. He did not feel inferior to any other being and therefore wanted to promote the image of humanity wherever he went. This was also influenced by his origin and Religion. He was Hausa one of the largest and prolific sub-race of Nigeria and he was Muslim. For him African humanism englobed all shades of colours of persons from Black to White, Red, Yellow, Red, Chinese or Indian without any exception. Wherefore, for him, the African Humanism was representative of this rainbow colour continent which did not discriminate Black from White, Chinese and Indian, even though the Apartheid South African regime made us to make this distinction.

It did not make him to distinguish between the Arab and the Black African either, especially in Culture and in the Arts, even though Arabs have maltreated and deprived Africans of their Human Rights and Black Heritage.



Photos 301 (a), (b) & (c): Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balawa: December, 1912 – January 15, 1966

Even though he has been criticised for not being Pan Africanist enough, being more of a Regionalist than vying for the political Unity of Africa, as opposed to Nkrumah who set the blue print for African Unity; he remains a true Pan Africanist as he said in his speech in Addis Ababa that he was delighted that the conference on the African Unity made him to meet other Africans who shared the same ambition to see Africa unite, though he believed in the truth that Unity would come or would be at a different rhythm and pace. Actually he is also accredited as one of the Founding Fathers of the Launching of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU as affirmed by the [http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Abubakar Tafawa Balewa](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Abubakar_Tafawa_Balewa) British Encyclopaedia which says that :

“(He was) widely respected across the African continent as one of the leaders who encouraged the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (later the African Union).”

He was a real Pan Africanist who was interested in creating a cooperative relationship with French speaking African countries unlike the UPGA faction of the Nigerian party which was interested in the creation of a colonial and neo-colonial West African Federation between Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra-Leone the English speaking African countries.

As Prime Minister, Balewa helped shape the early foreign policy of Pan Africanism of Nigeria. He was instrumental and advocated the negotiation of a settlement in 1960 between warring factions in the Congo Civil War between Tshombe, Casavubu and Lumumba as testified by Black Past <http://www.blackpast.org/gah/congo-civil-war-1960-1964#sthash.yrBu8gwo.dpuf> which affirms that:

“He was also instrumental in negotiations between Moïse Tshombe and the Congolese authorities during the Congo Crisis of 1960-1964...Then, dominated by Belgian business interests, the mineral-rich Katanga province under the leadership of Moïse Kapenda Tshombe seceded from the DRC with Belgian support. Congolese President Joseph Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba asked and received a peacekeeping force from the United Nations (UN)”

During the Sharpeville Massacre in South Africa in 1960, he led his government in a vocal protest of against South Africa, and attempted unsuccessfully to persuade other British Commonwealth nations to expel South Africa because of its Apartheid Policies from the Commonwealth <http://www.blackpast.org/gah/balewa-sir-abubakar-tafawa-1912-1966#sthash.po5yJTUQ.dpuf>. This culminated in South Africa being expelled from the Commonwealth in 1961. He also initiated the convening of the Commonwealth Meeting in Lagos to discuss how to respond to the White Government of Rhodesia's (Zimbabwe's) unilateral declaration of independence. Although he maintained cordial relations with the Western World, he was very adamant in condemning the French for using the Sahara as a nuclear test zone in 1954 and after. He was one of those who stood that Africa should be militarised, just like Yaradua was against the militarisation of Africa with AFRICOM that is guarding America's and NATO's interests in Africa and fighting the Chinese today in Africa for spreading Humanitarian “colonisation” of Africa too far. The West is angry that China has come to recognise Africa much better with a human face that they did. China is gaining faster grounds in Africa than they thought. Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa was a very refined politician and a groomed nationalist who was very sensitive about the various coalitions that have gone on between the Muslim Fulanis and Hausas of the North for Centuries of Islamisation and Humanisation. He guarded this sovereignty with all pride and caution that it took. He was aware of the autocratic Yoruba of the South-West with its Obas that have ruled and exerted power for a long time before Colonisation. He was also aware that the Igbos of the South East who were more democratic in their dealings with government where the Chiefs had only symbolic powers, than the other ethnicities of Nigeria with a centralised and commanding Chieftaincy.

Mindful of these rich features of Nigerian landscape Sir Abubaka Tafawa Balewa decided to walk the very steady and tight rope of Nigerian Politics of Governance with all resilience and bringing all the ethnicities together in common understanding. That is why his approval for the coalition between the splintered faction of UPGA of Chief Samuel Ládòkè Akíntólá was saluted as a ploy to unite the country from South to North. Although many have seen only the negative aspects of this Union, one still has to say that this was the laying down of the foundation and platform platform which will eventually give birth to a healthier Nigeria as a multi-ethnic, religious and cultural entity of governance, of economics and social stratification. This actually the new power base of the Yoruba, who are prominent in Politics today through their full support behind President Buhari who is from the North and the assistance of Professor Oluwemi Oluleke Osinbajo (born 8 March 1957) of Yoruba extraction who is the Vice President of Nigeria, in office since May 29, 2015. His previous role a Senior Advocate of *Nigeria*, and Professor of Law and a Senior Partner with Simmons Cooper Partners, in commercial law practice until his inauguration as Vice President is a sign of the strides the Yorubas have made in politics and in academics.



Photos 301 (d), (e) & (f): President Muhammadu Buhari, also spelled Mubammad: December 17, 1942- and Vice President Oluwemi Oluleke Osinbajo: 8 March 1957-

This also means that for the Yorubas the fulfilment of the legacy of the nationalist and Pan Africanist Samuel Ládòkè Akíntólá has been fulfilled by cementing the alliance between the North and the Southern part of Nigeria.

The British Encyclopaedia attests to this fact and spells it out for us:

“During his period in office, Balewa was faced with competing regional interests, rivalry between different political parties each of which were organized on regional as well as tribal lines representing the Hausa and Fulani north, the Yoruba south-west, and the Igbo or Ibo south-east. He also had to contend with different visions of how Nigeria should be organized. On the one hand, some wanted union with neighboring states

within a larger Federation. On the other hand, some wanted regional autonomy and a weak federal government. The December 1964 election was surrounded by controversy and allegations of vote-rigging... In December 1964, Nigeria held its second general election. Two coalitions emerged to contest the election, the Nigerian National Alliance (NNA) consisting of the NPC and the Nigerian National Democratic Party, which contested the Action Group in the West (broadly federalist) and the United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) consisting of the NCNC and those members of the Action Group who had not defected to the NNDP. It campaigned on a platform of further subdividing the nation along communitarian lines, so that each ethnic group would control their own region with no group being dominated by another."

A look back on this political sphinx with all the devotion and energy that he propelled in this very large landscape of Africa, and the eighth largest country in the world, leaves us with a lot of admiration and thanks to this statesman, a nationalist and a Pan Africanist of rarest quality and magnitude. When we read his speech in the inaugural celebration of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU, over fifty years ago, it resounds and reverberates as if it were just today. We want to amply quote him entirely because the speech gives Nigeria's outlook on African Unity and African Identity which was cemented many years ago before we could actually think seriously about it. And the thanks go to Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of blessed memory. We give a full quote to the speech of Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa thanks to the following media: (Apapa: Nigerian National Press, Ltd., 1964...<http://www.blackpast.org/1963-sir-abubakar-tafawa-balewa-addis-ababa#sthash.yykwcDmZ.dpuf>):

"What follows is the speech by Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa on the occasion of the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on May 24, 1963. ...Your Imperial Majesty, Mr. President, Your Excellencies,...First, I want to express the thanks of my country to your Imperial Majesty, the Imperial Majesty's Government and the People of Ethiopia for the warm reception which they have given to my delegation and myself. The presence of almost all the Heads of African States and Governments in Addis Ababa is a great tribute to your Imperial Majesty personally. The history of the new Africa will always have your name in the forefront, because the unity which we are trying to build in this conference is going to have quite a lot to do with the name of the capital city of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa. Mr. President, His Imperial Majesty sustained a double loss not long ago in the death of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress, and Prince Sable Sellasie. During your period of sorrow which you have sustained with very great fortitude, our hearts were with you, Mr. President, may I ask all of you, Your Excellencies, to rise and observe two minutes silence in memory of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress, and Prince Sable Sellasie. Mr. President, it is very difficult, after so many eloquent speeches which have exhaustively dealt with the subject, for me not to make some repetition of the points made. However,

sir, I will try to explain the views and the stand of Nigeria as far as African unity is concerned. I feel that the mere presence of all the Heads of African States and Governments here shows the success of the Conference, and I have no doubt that all of us will leave Addis Ababa satisfied that we have done something. It has always been our view in Nigeria that personal contacts and the exchange of ideas are the basis of mutual understanding. I am pleased to say that, from now on, there will be no question of the so-called Monrovia and Casablanca Blocs. We all belong to Africa. There have been quite a lot of views on what we mean by African unity. Some of us have suggested that African unity should be achieved by political fusion of the different states in Africa; some of us feel that African unity could be achieved by taking practical steps in economic, educational, scientific and cultural co-operation, and by trying first to get the Africans to understand themselves before embarking on the more complicated and more difficult arrangement of political union. My country stands for the practical approach to the unity of the African continent. We feel that, if this unity is to last, we must start from the beginning. Nigeria's stand is that if we want this unity in Africa we must first agree to certain essential things: The first is that African States must respect one another. There must be acceptance of equality by all the States. No matter whether they are big or small, they are all sovereign and their sovereignty is sovereignty. The size of a state, its population or its wealth should not be the criterion. It has been pointed out many times that the smaller States in Africa have no right to exist because they are too small. We in Nigeria do not agree with this view. It was unfortunate that the African States have been broken up into different groups by the Colonial powers. In some cases, a single tribe has been broken up into four different States. You might find a section in Guinea, a section in Mali, a section in Sierra Leone and perhaps a section in Liberia. That was not our fault because, for over 60 years, these different units have been existing, and any attempt, on the part of any African country to disregard this fact might bring trouble to this continent. This is the thing we want to avoid and, for this reason, Nigeria recognizes all the existing boundaries in Africa, and recognizes the existence of all the countries in Africa. This I think, Sir, is the basis of the unity which we in Nigeria pray for on our continent. As I have said, we have to start from the beginning. I have listened to speeches in this conference, and there have been only very few members who spoke on the desirability of having a political union. Almost all the speeches indicate that a more practical approach is much preferred by the majority of the delegation. I am glad to say that the stand we have taken right from the beginning is the stand of nearly almost all the countries in this conference. It appears from the speeches as if we were just sitting idle and doing nothing towards the achievement of this unity. For our part, in Nigeria, we are already co-operating with some of our neighbours. For example, the other day, my friend, the President of Malagasy said he could not contact Lagos by telephone from Cotonou. This is no longer the case. Now he can speak direct. What we are trying to do is to link up with all our neighbours by means of telecommunications and by exchanging more postal facilities; and we are already entering into bilateral agreements with many of our neighbours. We are discussing this matter with the Republic of the Cameroun, discussing our common problems with Tchad,

Congo Leopoldville, with Dabomey, and also we have direct link with Togo. We hope to continue in this work because we feel that, if we are to unite, it is important that our communications system should be excellent and transport facilities should be such that it would enable us to move freely around, to move not only ourselves but to move our goods to different parts of the continent. Also, we have been trying in Nigeria to join other states in trying to discuss common problems—educational and scientific problems. We feel that it is very important for the nationals of different African countries to have the opportunity of mixing at all levels, not only at the Heads of States and Governments level, not only at the Foreign Ministers level, but also at all other levels. Let our peoples travel different countries in Africa; let them get to know themselves and to understand themselves. This, I am sure, will bring great understanding among all the peoples of this continent. So far, our communications system is not what we would like it to be; our transport is bad. This is not our fault. It was the fault of the Colonial Powers because they designed everything for their own purposes. It is up to us now—those of us who shape the destiny of our countries—to do what we can to improve matters. Many of the speakers have told us that mere resolutions, mere condemnations is not enough; it is time for action. I would call upon the conference that we now start on the real work. It is in our hands to build, to create and to develop a new Africa, which all of us are anxious to do. Now, Mr. President, the Hon. President of the Sudan, I think, when he spoke, told us that we should be frank. I think it was the President of Malagasy who said that we in Africa do not want to speak the truth. We have a saying in Nigeria, which is that 'Truth is bitter'. Mr. President, I want to be frank; I want to tell the bitter truth. To my mind we cannot achieve this African unity as long as some African countries continue to carry on subversive activities in other African countries. Sir, many of the members have spoken very strongly on the decolonization of the continent. I want to say that we in Nigeria are prepared to do anything to secure the freedom of the continent of Africa. There has been a suggestion that we should pull our resources together, that we should make arrangements, if necessary, to help the nationalists in different countries in Africa, which are still dependent, to fight their way to independence. We in Nigeria are prepared to do anything towards the liberation of all African countries. I have observed that when we give assistance to another country which is fighting for its independence, some of us are in the habit of imposing obligations on those States. That is wrong. If we give assistance to African people in any dependent territory, we should not ask for any obligation on their part; because that would come almost to the same point that many of the speakers have made that they would only accept foreign aid without any strings attached. I do not believe that any aid, no matter from where it comes, is without strings attached to it. Let us not fall into the same trap. If we assist any dependent territory in Africa, we must see to it that we do not attach conditions to our assistance. This is very, very important if we want to establish the solidarity of the continent of Africa, to make sure that any of assistance we give is free. It is good, Sir, that we have a common pool, but a conference like this cannot discuss the details of such an organization; and it is our view that, immediately after leaving this conference, or before we should appoint a committee—a standing committee—to go into the details of this matter. On the question

of colonialism and racial discrimination, I am afraid that we in Nigeria will never compromise. Now, I Come to a very vital matter, which is the development of continent. The African continent is very rich in resources but, unfortunately these resources are not developed yet. We are born at a very difficult time: we have not the necessary capital, the necessary equipment, or the necessary know-how for the development of our continent. Therefore, we find it absolutely necessary to rely on outsiders for the development of the African territories. I would like to tell the conference that we must take every care to know whom we invite to assist in the development of our resources, because there is a fear, which is also my personal fear, that, if we are not careful, we may have colonialism in a different form. Colonialism can take many different forms. Our countries can be colonized economically, if we are not careful. Just as we have fought political domination, it is also important that we fight against economic domination by other countries. Let us not forget that we in Africa are part of the world. We have our international obligations as well. Whatever we do, we cannot isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. Therefore, in all that we do, and in all that we say, we should be careful because we belong to one human society. Mr President, I always tell people that I do not believe in African personality, but in human personality. The African is a human being and, therefore, we have to see to the development of the human personality in Africa. I think any talk of African personality is based on inferiority complex. I do not regard any human being—red, white, brown, yellow or green—as superior to me. I regard myself as equal to anybody. I am a human being. Now, some people have suggested, and this is a thing which is already underway, the establishment of an African Development Bank. I hope that, when the Ministers of Finance of different countries of Africa meet in Khartoum, they will be able to produce something which should be of benefit to all of us. Also, a suggestion has been made for the establishment of an African Common Market. This is a very good idea; but I must say that we in Nigeria feel that it is a very complicated matter. We want an African Common Market. But, can we do it by taking the continent as a whole? Or can we do it by certain groupings in Africa? What appears to us to be more practical is that we should have an African Common Market based on certain groupings. We are thinking, Sir, of a North African grouping, which will include the Sudan; a West African grouping which will extend to the River Congo; and an East African grouping, which will include the Central African countries. If we base our examination on these groupings, I think we will arrive at a very successful establishment of African Common Market, because I think it is good for the trade Africa. For example, the inter-State trade in Africa is 10%, while 90% is done with countries outside Africa. There is no reason why we should not increase the inter-State trade on this continent. I think, Sir, that if we are able to establish an African Common Mark we shall overcome many difficulties and we shall be in a Position to stand on our own in relation to the other parts of the world. My fear of our being colonised will disappear if we are able to establish this African Common Market. The question of disarmament was raised by several speakers. I think all of us feel strongly about this question. Although some feel that disarmament can never be achieved, still others feel that it is most important that the great Powers will continue to talk about it;

because the more they talk about it, the less danger there would be of an open clash. I am glad that they have seen fit to invite some of the African countries to participate in their disarmament talks. The most essential thing which is desirable is to effect disarmament. It is desirable to ban nuclear testing; it is most important that we exercise every possible influence we can upon the great Powers to destroy those bombs which they have already got. If there is a war now, there would be nothing left—everything would go. We are now just starting to develop our country. The mere fact that Africa has been declared a nuclear-free zone will not make Africa free in the event of a world war. If there is war, we in Africa will be directly involved. It is our concern that there should be peace in the world, and that there should be understanding among the great Powers. Some people have suggested that we should organize ourselves into a Defence Bloc. Well, Mr. President and Your Excellencies, all of us have been talking about the bad nature of the armament race. It has been suggested that we should embark on an arms race in Africa. All of us know very well that we are at present incapable of joining in such a race. Our idea is that we should not be talking about an arms race. All we should talk about, Sir, is how to stop it, and I would not suggest that we should join in that race at all. A suggestion was also made that we should come together as a bloc in the United Nations. Well, that is a very good idea; but I must tell the conference that we in Nigeria hate the idea of blocs, and we do not like it. If we can find some kind of name for it, such as African committee or an African 'something', it will be much better, because the whole idea of blocs is revolting. I think we should try to find better names for these different groupings. I think that we have been working for some time now in the United Nations where our different representatives meet and matters of common interest. May I suggest to the conference that it is time now that we find a permanent small secretariat or such an African Committee in New York? That does not mean, of course, that we will instruct our delegates to close their eyes the wider issues of world problems. But, as a Continent which has suffered for so long and also as a people who have suffered for so long, I think we have to do everything to get our proper position in the United Nations Organization. Some of us have suggested that we should seek greater representation in the Security Council and also in all the bodies of the United Nations Organization. Well, this has been our stand all the years we have been independent. I said so in New York; I said it in Monrovia. It is absolutely essential that the African continent must have more appropriate representation in the Security Council and all the bodies of the United Nations, because we have more to gain thereby. That world organization, I have always maintained, is a sure guarantee of the independent sovereignty of our African states. Mr. President, many of the points have been made. Many members have said that we cannot leave Addis Ababa without a charter. I hope we shall not leave here without some kind of charter. I hope our Foreign Ministers will produce a charter before we leave this city. May I thank Your Imperial Majesty again and may I ask the conference to forgive me for being a little bit frank. I think that is the only way by which we could achieve understanding among ourselves. It is important that, when we meet on an occasion like this, we try to tell each other the hard facts, the truth about matters, instead of speaking about them behind. It is most important that we become frank in

Africa. We are just beginning to know ourselves; and I am very happy, Mr President, for having the opportunity to meet the very distinguished members from all parts of Africa. I hope that this conference will pave the way to the unity and solidarity of the African continent."

It was assumed that Sir Ahmadu Bello was a Pan Africanist of a special degree, bearing in mind that he too was the descendant of an African Conquering Sphynx - Usman Dan Fodio from Gobi, Niger, who had also been the descendant of the Torobe and the Toronkawa who had already colonised Africa from Torobe Highlands in Futa Toro by Mauritania and Senegal, to Futa-Djalou, Mali, Gao in Niger, and Sokoto in Nigeria. It was pertinent that his ancestors had initiated the return to the more fundamental Islam and the spread of the more fundamentalist Islam inherited from the Moors of Morocco and Mauritania, in the Hausa Kingdoms which were under the suzerainty of the Bonu, the Kanem Kingdom-Empires, with influence from the Mahdi-Sanusi Sufist Empires.



Photos 302 (a), (b) & (c) Sir Amadu Bello, The Sadauna Of Sokoto: June 12, 1910 – January 15, 1966

That is the reason why Sir Ahmadu Bello concentrated in solidifying the Northern territories of the Hausa where the Fulani hegemony had been established, and where the Usman Dan Fodio domination was still exerted on the Hausa Kingdoms that were still under the feudal command of the Kanem-Bornu Empires of the Zagawa and the Wangara Ethnicities that spread as far as Sudan and the Fezan. Sir Ahmadu Bello was this architect who wanted to unite the forces of North of Nigeria to comprise the old Empires and Kingdoms against the Southern Kingdoms and Ethnicities. As a refined African

strategist he saw that his leadership portfolio of the Great North was more strategic than his fight for the Southern hemisphere which was interrupted in its downward thrust by the Igbos who stopped the descent of the Fulani raiders into the South-East; just as Usman Dan Fodio forces were stopped by the Bamums, the Chambas and the Bamilekes who fought the forces of Adama (Adama and Awa) in Cameroon. That is why the analyses of the American Society of African Culture of the University of California is rather unrealistic when it tries to hold that countries like Mali, Ivory-Coast, Senegal, Guinea and Ghana which were core areas in West Africa, had the same claim over the smaller states of West Africa. Actually the countries so mentioned did not have the same clout and strategies like Nigeria with a much larger population that had determined the cause of the mobility and aspirations of people towards what had become the centre of cohabitation and conglomeration as well as African Globalisation. Nigeria had become for long during the pre-colonial times the place to be for most West Africans. It was the melting pot of Culture, the Arts and Trade that surpassed all the regions of West Africa. Actually the ancient Empires of Ghana, Mali, Gao, had ceded their place to Nigeria which was becoming the new El Dorado of Africanness in Culture, the Arts, Trade, Education, with the University of Kano, the movements of people and intellectuals of Africa. How then could it be compared with the past?

When Sir Ahmadu Bello mentioned the leadership Nigeria had to play in the continent of Africa and in the World as a whole, he was not talking of the Neo-Colonial strategy which Nigeria had to adopt. He was actually counting on the wider and stronger ties which Nigeria had with the larger Empire dominated by the Fulani from Mauritania, Senegal to Mali, Nigeria to Ethiopia, where there was no rival worthy of the name as the American Society of African Culture of the University of California tried to insinuate, when it holds that Sir Ahmadu Bello saw Nigeria as:

“... The awakened giant, that is not prepared, as in the words of Sadauna of Sokoto, “to sacrifice leadership which she is bound to play on the continent as to the world as a whole”. Each of these core areas can rightly claim a special role whether the criterion be historical, or militant leadership, wealth, the first on the ground, or size. To date, all the other territories of West Africa are in effect appendages of these five, or like Togo, they quietly go their own way. But the main point here is that there is one core area around which unity can be developed. This suggests that there will either be competition for leadership, or at least a reluctance on the part of anyone to accept the leadership of one of the other four..”

And when Abraham Niasse, in a letter to Sir Ahmadu Bello, tried to enlist the influential Muslim to the Pan African banner of Kwame Nkrumah as testified by Zachary Valentine Wright (2015)

<https://chart.googleapis.com/chart?>, Niasse had in mind the pre-colonial strategy of the Fulani Empire which bound them more than the neo-colonial strategy of artificial state-boundaries. Even though Niasse was counting on the renascent Pan Africanism, he knew fully well that it could only be achieved by the old links that bind the entire region before, which was the Islamic and the Ancient Empires of Pan Africanism.

This to my understanding was the theme of his discourse when he admonished Sir Amadu Bello in a speech in Kaduna, (12 Du Qada 1391 (30 December, 1971) in Sa'adat al-anam 33) when he made it clear:

"I am on my way to Cairo on an official visit, after spending some days in Ghana where I was invited by Osagyefor Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who had great love and respect you. And I sincerely hope that real and cordial relations will be strengthened between your two countries. I should like draw your attention to the Muslims and people of West Africa: that they should liberate themselves and raise the Pan African banner, so that they should practice their beliefs and traditions freely."

One could therefore say that Sir Ahmadou Bello, like his old time colleague and collaborator in politics did not see the inconvenience of talking of Pan Africanism as derived from Pan Humanism as opposed to an African personality. For Sir Ahmadou Bello also believed that the notion of Identity in Africa was rather from the conviction of one's interests and not from one's colour, race or religion, even though these played some useful part in them.

When we look at all the contributions to the notion of African Identity, as presented by this panoply of famous quoted persons, we find that there is a common theme which cuts across. For them it is clear that Identity is not built on the assumptions of Ethnicity or race or colour of being Black. They became united through their common interests and desires, not just by their colour which also spelt out their differences and rights like in the case of the women who are all Black but who are discriminated because they are women and African. In other words, we have been made to understand that any idea of identity is rather very complex and illusive because one person can carry many Identities as the world might span even though one person has and carries only one colour at any given time. Which us to say that Identity is a matter of Choice and not a Given like Colour, like Sub-Race.

15.3. The Building Of Identities Of Pan Africanism

Humans have come to realise that very often identities are usually based on race and historical collective consciousness, which are sometimes perceived or made to appear as static and immovable and immovable. This immovability and immovability is accentuated by the ritualization, celebrations

and commemoration of collective events and collective public and ideological history, beliefs and affiliations. But the fact remains that there are always in all identities very multifaceted natural material and spiritual and emotional spaces that always ignite and motivate our identities. And when we fail to face and look at the broader picture of what we call identities we tend to be very selective, parochial and restricted.

Obiagele Lake (1995) shows how African-American Returnees to Africa react when they discover that they have a broader base of Pan-Africanism and Ethnicity alliances as opposed to Continental Africans in their pigeon-hole Nation-States. The way they view ethnicity is not in the same manner Africans take ethnicity to mean “Tribalism,” a colonial and a neo-colonial construct and production. In discussing about his research in Ghana, he makes these revelations:

“Jeunef is one of the few African Americans who primarily identified herself as an African. Those who did so tended to have had intellectual experiences with Africans or had become familiar with African political and historical issues while still in the diaspora. The majority of repatriates identified themselves as African American or African Caribbean, even though they also expressed feelings of continuity with Africa. This notion speaks to the emergent nature of identity and the different sources from which “returnees” draw in order to construct these identities. Some informants explicitly stated that they were African in physical features, heritage, and to some degree, experience. Aspects of personal encounters-those interactions with Africans on an everyday, mundane level-made informants feel more a part of a pan-African experience. The recognition of Ghanaian names in their (diaspora) families, similarities in temperament and styles of communicating, and physical resemblances were among the more frequent dimensions that engendered feelings of kinship. Informants also placed great value on being mistaken as Ghanaian. Commonalities in styles of communicating were mentioned by several informants.”



Photo 303 (a): Harlem Renaissance, 1919 – 1940.

The danger of fixing and concentrating on “Tribal” or Ethnicity traits is that we might become so restricted that we suppress all other channels and spaces of our identities. It is like saying that there is an African pain, or smile, an African poverty and hopelessness different to other human pain or hopelessness and poverty. What we all have in common at the base is the same humanity with our various expressions of this humanity. The Harlem renaissance was necessary for Blacks to showcase their feelings that were human and not just Black. It was a time to integrate the rejected culture of the non-Chosen people. It was time to Negricise, to show Black as Beautiful and Dynamic and having a common base like other cultures, as any other culture in the God given World. But despite this common base for all humanity, we tend to see and project and enjoy only one aspect of our common humanity and fail to explore in-depth on the others. This is sometimes due to the facility and easy comfort we find in embracing these restricting identities and excluding others without questioning and without wanting to go into the pains of verifying whether we could also belong to other identities or innovative entrepreneurial experiential culture and networking.

It is like when one day I asked one of my best students and friend to try and imagine whether God could not also have allowed Jesus to be conceived

by the Holy Spirit in a cow, an elephant or in a stone; and not by the Blessed Virgin Mary; if Jesus could even have been conceived by a whore and not by a Virgin; whether Jesus would not have still been Jesus, since Jesus came not only to transform humankind but also the entire universe and all therein. His reply was that he was so comfortable in believing in the Immaculate Conception and the Virgin birth of Jesus that he was afraid he would lose his head and senses if he started trying to think and question this Sacred Mystery that has been ritualised, celebrated and rammed down the belief systems of generations for so long.

But he forgot to realise that whatever our thinking and questioning might be, we would not change the fact that Jesus was the Sacred Mystery of God incarnated among humankind and their natural material and cultural and social environment of the universe.

I then realised that had it been that my student had been schooled in the ancient African Egyptian belief systems of the Virgin Conception of Horus by the Virgin Isis through the Spirit of Osiris; or again the fact that in ancient Egyptian it was not considered blasphemy to depict the goddess Hathor as a Cow; then my student and friend would have found it more exciting to explore the various possibilities and facilities God uses to reveal Herself/Himself to us. For African philosophical belief systems conceive God as asexual but always depict God, if necessary, as having both the Female and the Male components.

It is in the same way when we make allusion to Pan-Africanism and ask what dimension it should take in the 21st century of fast Globalisation and integration of peoples both naturally, environmentally and materially, as well as artificially virtually, culturally, and socially.

It is like asking a classical Pan-Africanist today what would happen if we take away slavery, deprivation, racism and colonial domination and exploitation, will there still be an African identity?

Will there still be Pan-Africanism? That is to say, can Pan-Africanism remain always a racialisational discourse of “Blackness” or Blackism with all its historical dynamics, and the embracing of the African Renaissance of the Rainbow Nation, the Rainbow Continent?

In other words, how can we make Pan-Africanism to become materially and spatially, as well as cross-culturally inclusive, integrational, and more entrepreneurial for the enhancement of its Humanism for Humanity.

This leads us to another question:

- Is the quest for racial identity not spurred on by a compensatory complex syndrome which is built on from this perpetual syndrome of racism,

deprivation, exploitation and reduction to poverty a set of people by another set of people?

- Does not then the recurrent ritualization, celebration and commemoration of these atrocities suffered from the hands of imperialists not engendered by the refusal to stand up and challenge and change the vicious circle system; and instead settling down to the complacency of assuming the role of the victim craving to draw attention to oneself, not through an alternative innovative entrepreneurial spirit for self-determination and change, but for regenerating the old fallacy of “argumentum ad misericordiam,” the argument of pity?

- It is true that some people and nations like the Jews and Israel, as well as the Palestinians and the Alquaeda, are using this “argumentum ad misericordiam,” argument of pity-justification, very well to forge ahead and perpetrate their new solidarity of violence and counter violence.

- But is that what Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century should become?

Since Pan-Africanism is no longer interested in seizing Imperialistic Power and establishing Popular Liberating Power; we all know that all African States now exercise legitimate popular Political Power in their various pigeon-hole States. The pertinent question now is:

- What will be the strategic alternative to establish for the African Renaissance for the advancement and achievement of the New Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism?

- This same question is asked by Obiagele Lake (1995) who tries to consider and ponder about when he asked a woman Diaspora African Repatriate in Ghana, as he reports that:

“Another woman, Medias, has worked as a social worker since and is married to a Ghanaian physician. When I asked her what she 1958 thought about the concept of pan-Africanism and the prospect of creating a power-base for all African people, her response was: Is it power that we need? [We need power] not for Africans alone, but for all people, we need a certain kind of power-the power of love. Love. If we train ourselves to love one another, whether the person is an African, whatever the colour may be, I think that would accomplish a lot for the whole world, not just for Africans or people of African descent.”

Medias, reiterates the fundamental objective of Pan-Africanism which was initially and still remains the quest for LOVE, as Nelson Mandela admits, and the establishment of Love amongst all humankind no matter what race, personal opinion, ideology, religion and cultural preferences and choices. Love

as the power base of Pan-Africanism attests to its fundamental humanism. But the onus rests now on how to develop structures and strategies to train Africans and humankind to love one another and to attain this globalising LOVE so as to establish the City of God on earth as Saint Augustine advocates.

This means that Africans must learn and be taught how to live this love for humankind wherever they may be found and come from. Africans must be taught how to live and love beyond ethnic and “tribal” lines as before colonisation and imperialism which came to teach Africans, like colonial anthropologist did and made them to believe that some people were superior to others; some people being regarded as “Chosen,” while others are the “Condemned” and the “Slaves”. The colonial masters taught this doctrine to the Rwandans that the Tutsis, because they were pastoral and had aquiline features, were superior to Hutus who were agrarian and inferior and incapable to rule, and having more Negro features.

After the domination and exploitation of Africa through Slavery, Colonial Anthropology, which engineered what was nothing else but this indentured slavery in Africa, imposed its perceptions and techniques of dehumanisation and domination of the human being through indoctrination. This was in order to facilitate and introduce the principle of “divide et impera,” “divide and rule” where colonial-mercenaries were trained to become intermediaries of the Colonial Policy and Engineering. This is what prompted Stanilas Adotevi, the Pan Africanist from Togo to demand what it actually meant to be a Nuer, A Dinka, a Wangara, Zagawa or a Nuba?

That is how Africans were classified into pure “Negroes” with phenotypical affinities to apes as opposed to what was called “Chamitics” or even falsely as “Semitic” with phenotypical aquiline features Africans.

Colonial Anthropology came up with the theory that Negroes had kinky or woolly hair, flat nose, big lips, dolichocephalous features with small skull cavity, with anthropometrically small and low brain capacity with low IQs and functions; but with very highly developed physical features and excessively developed phallus and highly erotic emotions.

And because of this low brain capacity and IQ function, as described by racist philosophers like Levy-Bruhl, and Frederick Hegel, and much recently James Watson the Nobel Prize Winner in genetics, who confirm that the Negro African was incapable of rationalisation, and was condemned to specialise only in gathering and agriculture and has never rationally contributed to the history of humanity.

This is what James Watson said as reported by Stephen Adams (Daily Telegraph, 17 Oct 2007):

“The Science Museum last night cancelled a talk by Nobel Prize winning scientist Dr James Watson after he was accused of making “racist” comments implying Africans were not as intelligent as whites. DNA pioneer Dr Watson, who discovered the double helix with Briton Francis Crick, has been roundly condemned for saying he was “inherently gloomy about the prospect of Africa” because “all our social policies are based on the fact that their intelligence is the same as ours – whereas all the testing says not really”...”

Whereas, for Colonial anthropologists, the “Chamitic” type of Africans were those considered to be cross-breeds of Semitic and Caucasoid miscegenation which highlighted the aquiline features and phenotypes. Among these types were included the Kemit Egyptians, the Nubians, the Ethiopians, the Somalians, the Baganda, the Tutsi, the Hausa and the Fulani. This group type was classified anthropometrically as possessing a much larger skull cavity and a much larger brain with some capacity to rationalisation. The Chamitic group specialised in pastoralism and not agriculture which was considered inferior and given to repetition and dependence on nature.

It was in reflection of all these divisions spearheaded by the Eurocentric theory of “divide and rule” which was brought to bear on Rwanda and sponsored by the French that I was inspired to write and compose this poem and song after the Rwandan Genocide and massacre, titled:

PEACE SINGING DOVES

*If you will hear that I am dyeing
You have to come and bury me
Among my people...*

*If you will meet all my friends
And family who are sobbing in pain
You have to give them
This branch of the peace plant
Which will sprout and
Grow in the sunlight...*

And then all the birds

*Will come to sing
The songs of peace
The songs of peace
This lullaby of Orphans...*

*Now I call you my brother ...
My sister from Rwanda
You have to weep on with me
You have to sing out with me
You have to shout out with me
You have to die along with me
And sign on with your blood
This peace song of love...*

*If you will look around the world
You will see that all the mountains
Are trying to march on for peace...
If you will meet all my friends
And family who are dying in pain
You have to give them
This branch of the peace plant
Which will sprout and
Grow in the sunlight...*

*And then all the birds
Will come to sing
The songs of peace
The songs of peace
This lullaby of Orphans...*

*Now I call you my brother ...
My sister from Burundi
You have to weep on with me
You have to sing out with me
You have to shout out with me
You have to die along with me
And sign on with your blood
This peace song of love...*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, 4th January, 1997.

This also gave the colonial justification why the World Trade Organisation on its policy on Tariffs and Trade stipulated that agricultural farm products

like banana, coffee, cocoa, rubber, tea, spices and the like would be bought at the lowest exploitative prices possible, because they were classified as products of nature without surplus intellectual value. And so, grazers earned much more income for sheep or cattle, because of the higher IQ of the capacity to manage animals, and in extrapolation, the capacity to manage people, who were according to colonial and racist anthropology, not much different from animals.

With this classification also went the colonial perception and attribution of roles and functions to the colonised African. Colonial Anthropologists then had the right to develop theories to justify various inhumane actions and the abuses of human rights in Africa. It was accepted by these Colonial Anthropological classifications, that the “Negroes,” like the Nuer and Dinka of Southern Sudan, or the Bantu of Southern Africa were acephalous and stateless societies where some “ordered anarchy reigned, as the Negro was incapable of self-determination and ruling themselves and were condemned to be agriculturalists, forest, savannah and desert gatherers and servants to the Colonial Masters and the Semitics, thus confirming the Jewish Judaic Bible of the “Curse of Noah.” Hence the development of Slavery, even approved by Pope Nicholas V, and the Colonial Civilisation Missions in Africa.

Whereas they proposed that the “Semitic” and Chamitic phenotypes and pastoralists were destined to rule because they gained more human management skills by learning to herding sheep and cattle and engaging in pastoralism.

One can therefore understand how this classification was at the basis of the conflict and genocidal politics of the Hutus against the Tutsis of Rwanda and Burundi, or of the Baganda against the Negroid Ugandan ethnicities, the Northern Semitic Arabicised Sudan against the Southern Negroid Sudan, the Northern Hausa-Fulani against the Negro Igbo-Yoruba and other ethnicities of Nigeria, the Massai against the Negroid ethnicities of Kenya and Tanzania, the Zulu against the other Negroid ethnicities of South Africa, the Toucouleurs Pula (Fulani) of Mauritania, Senegal, Mali and Guinea and the Moors of Mauritania and the Tuaregs of Mali as superior to the other Negroid ethnicities, and all the other divide and rule trashes that sowed the conflicts of Africa till today, where the colonial Master determines who is a bit brainy and rational and destined to rule; and who is more Negroid and irrational and destined to serve the superior ethnicities in Africa.

This colonial classification has been at the basis of many other conflicts in Africa where some ethnicities now believe in their superiority and arrogate to themselves the rights to dominate and exploit other ethnicities considered

inferior and condemned to subservience forever. The so-called “Tribal” conflicts can trace their historiography from these Colonial “Tribalisations” and the arbitrary partitioning of Africa with its “Balkanised-Pigeon-Hole-Nations” classifications and assumptions in Africa.

The outcome was the colonial justification like in the trash Jacques Chirac was feeding Thabo Mbeki with to make him believe South Africans were superior to West Africans, so as to use him as the Trojan Horse of the Western Imperialism and Neo-Colonisation in Africa. It was this Jacques Chiracian brazen face trickster-bamboozler that provoked my writing of this poem about ironies of classifying some African peoples as superior or better than others. Hence, when the Frenchman calls you “Camarade” as Jacques Chirac does to Thabo Mbeki, he is expressing this irony and ambiguity which I captured in this Poem:

Camarade

*Are you from Togo? ...
He was admiring my African attire...
The once lifeless mask was maturing with blood
The aura in his steady blue eyes were
Vibrating with the clouds that had built in
The wall of divisive tensions and ideologies between our races...
Yet the silvery interwoven cords of his hair blended with
His sculptured body lobes and flair on his face
Had transformed my immuned gaze and praise
To a higher level of human dialectic understanding
With a cross-cultural mind-building and home-coming...*

*There I was in front of a talking monument...
This rare Phantomed-Oracle who wanted
To relive and critique his contradictory past...*

*“Vous-êtes beau, simple, original...
Do not lose this simplicity, he warned...
I spotted you out from the crowd because
You were not puffed up and mopped up like
The rest of your race who are foolishly bent
On copying and mimicking our Civilisation...*

*Your is nobler...
You shall one day come to teach us
The art of good-living
We shall one day make you a Minister
Of your abused and disinherited people...
O how I long for...*

*That beautiful land of yours...
O Afrique! ...
Of simplicity...
Afrodisiac-sunshine...
Genuine hospitality..."*

*We were getting used to and comfortable with
Each other's magnetising company just when
Our Second-Class Underground Wagon came
To a routine halt at Strassbourg-Saint-Denis...*

*"Je suis très content de faire votre connaissance...
Vous-êtes comme nous...
Nous sommes Égaux...
Adieu! ..."*

*It was at Porte-D'Orleans that I grasped
The implications of our Equality and
New cross-cultural accommodations...*

*Another Clochard stopped me beaming...
And inviting me for the celebration of the forgotten
Contributions of Africans to the French Civilisation...*

*Camarade, you are from Senegal, I suppose...
Your name is Guéy...
I fought with your father in Indo-China...
O your forgotten Emperor Bokassa...
We were colleagues together in the
French Infantry and we gave our lives together
Like the Senegalese Laptops who gave their lives
At Verdun during the First and the Second World War...*

*O Bokassa! ...
 How he mourned for De Gaulle...
 How nobly you Africans express your sentiments...
 How sad you are not given your rightful place on
 The French Civilisation podium of honour you deserve...
 We the veterans are no better but I feel for you...
 Your plight is much worse! ...*

*Camarade, haven't you One Franc... or say, who knows,
 May be more... for me to buy
 A baguette and some Red Wine? ..."*

*I sent my hand to feel the bottom of my tunic-pocket
 To reach for The Social Treasure...
 My pledge to my adopted brother...*

*He kissed the Inscription on the Head as
 I looked into his emblemed palm as the
 Living Tail kept glittering and showing off
 LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE...
 While the National Effigy Woman
 MARLANE...
 Became a haunting reality...
 She sows with the wind
 From Sun-rise to Sun-set! ...*

Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni, Paris, 21st October, 1977.

These Colonial "Divide and Rule" tactics have worked very well in Africa to maintain the colonial status quo in such a manner that if the African is no longer fighting for his liberation from colonialism, he is still controlled by the Pavlov syndrome by the Colonial Master as Jacques Chirac admits to Thabo Mbeki, to salivate and very subconsciously engage in fighting the 'Colonial War of Tribalisation' or the war of Ethnicity which is always ignited by the Neo-Colonial proctors for their selfish interest to exploit Africa's natural wealth as they are still doing in the Congo today, for the Blood Minerals, just as the Blood Crude oil of the Niger Delta, as the Blood Diamonds of Sierra Leone, the Blood Chad-Cameroon Pipe-Line that destroyed the livelihood and

heritage of the Kwa, the Baka and the other ethnicities of Cameroon, and now the Blood Diamonds of the Kalahari of the San people of Botswana.

This is exactly what Chirac was doing to Thabo Mbeki, when he told him that the South Africans were different and superior in rationality than the West Africans who lacked rationality, because just by a telephone call, West Africans were ready to obey him and take up machetes and guns and all the mass weapons of destruction they supply to Africa, for Africans to murder their brothers whenever he asked them to do so. But that was not the case with the South Africans, whom he admitted had rationality and were able to fight and defeat the Whites in their country. But he forgot to let Thabo Mbeki know that the defeated Apartheid regime gave the South Africans Democracy, but they also gave them Poverty and the slum of abject poverty of the masses of Black South Africans who, to quote Thabo Mbeki, in his speech before the French National Assembly, admits as if just quoting Lucky Dube's lyrics, of Blessed memory, when he read highlighting the details to his French audience that:

"Millions have resigned themselves to a life of restless nights and days of lethargy caused by empty stomachs. Even where they only have water to fill the void, as they drink they expose their frail bodies to water borne illnesses. Millions are ravaged by diseases, which can be cured or managed, but nevertheless envelope helpless millions, imposing avoidable morbidity and early death... They can never be certain that tomorrow the guns will not bark once again, portending death and added misery as the poor engage in a bitter struggle to claim first place in a scramble for scarce resources and opportunities."

May be Thabo Mbeki believed Jacques Chirac and became big headed and feeling really superior to his West African brothers and sisters. And that could explain why he went bowl-in-hand begging for assistance from Jacques Chirac and France's assistance before the French National Assembly.

It would seem Thabo Mbeki understood after all that Africa with all its natural resources, mineral wealth and crude oil reserves could become the master of the world if only the Wild-Westernised interethnic/"inter-tribalised" wars in Africa were stopped. And that could explain his focus in his African Renaissance idea, on the elimination of inter-ethnic wars in Africa for a more lasting peace to reign.

Obiagele Lake (1995) highlights this concern for finishing with "Tribalisation-Driven War" in Africa in his research which showed that post-colonial Pan-Africanist are more interested to see "Tribalised" differences

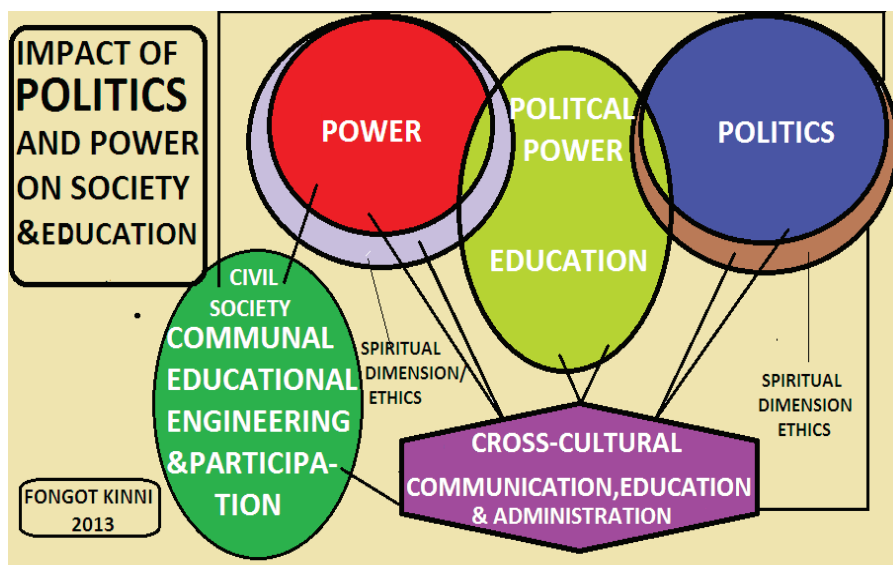
cease to become the point of division in Africa than rather for unity, the raising of the quality of life and solidarity for Africa and humanity. Obiagili Lake shares his research experience in Ghana with us when he explains how:

“It was a blessing to get an in-depth view of material reality (with Jeunef). You’re not going to live in trees, yet you’re not going to be in a situation like the United States. But in the long run, it’s going to be a better life-which I agree it is. Lake: Better in what sense? Jeunef: Better in that the quality of living is better here. I have a better sense of who I am. Even despite the little prejudices here where many Black people say I don’t have an identity because I’m a Black American. But I do have an identity because I am a combination of everything. Yes, I’m a descendant of slaves and I am from Africa. So I have the advantage. I can take a little of Yoruba’s [culture], I can take a bit from the Ga,” and just shape it into what I am. So I don’t even get offended anymore because I don’t have a specific group. I even think it’s best because I don’t get into that tribalistic mentality.”

It is this fight against all these neo-colonial “Tribalised” mentality of hate and feeling superior that Nelson Mandela proposes for the New Revolutionary Pan-Africanism and the New African Renaissance when he says that:

“For to be free is not merely to cast off one’s chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others....No one is born hating another person because of the colour of his skin, or his background, or his religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite.”

Nelson Madiba Mandela’s concept of teaching love as the New Wave for Revolutionary Pan-Africanism is not only pertinent but is timely. It comes in handy at this time when then there is debate on: Who exactly is African and is Pan-African? How can we then endeavour to inculcate into people and individuals this Humanistic spirit and view of Pan-Africanism? Certainly this can only be achieved, as Mandela affirms by teaching people how to love and not to hate. He even admits that it is very easy to teach to love because love comes naturally to the human heart than hate, its opposite.



This is how I firmly believe that with this “detrivalised” determination and commitment, Pan-Africanism must set up a school to cultivate the spirit of learning how to really love. It can also incorporate in the newly created Pan-African University this spirit which is primordial for any human endeavour. That is why I come up with a proposal for a strategy on how to go about teaching and learning how to love in (Fig. XVII.II.b.). This can be done by using the impact of Politics, Power and Education as the basis for the cultivation of Love towards all Humanity.

Teaching the love of our neighbours as ourselves has mostly been the monopoly of the Church and Religion. But we must remember that humans are social animals as well as they are political animals. Power being that Vital Force (Alexis Kagame, 1972) bestowed by God the Creator in every being, human and natural. And every living being, especially humans strive to maintain their Vital Forces to stay alive; as they strive to increase their Vital Forces by participating in the lives of the other four main elements of the universe and life: earth, air, water and fire, which animate the lives of all beings, especially humans, plants, animals, minerals, birds, fishes and all marine life. This entails the mastery, through academic and fundamental research of the indigenous knowledge and technology in cross-cultural exchanges and communication.

Teaching people how to develop the Pan-African spirit of all embracing love through the exploration of the vital forces in all beings and things, would be the prerogative of the socialisation and the politicisation dynamics which entails the enhancing of the cross-cultural communication and exchanges

among humans on a daily and much regular basis. This Pan-African spirit of teaching Love encloses the liberating Non-Violent rhetoric fostered and inculcated by Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King and their followers, as well as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee – SNCC of the USA. This is because the rhetoric of Non-Violence is much more long lasting and efficacious in teaching tolerance, patience and love than hate and violence. This pragmatic African Philosophy is what Dika Akwa Nya Bonambella described as the permanent interpenetration of contraries since God created everything Good, like the positive and the negative charges of Electricity that bring Light, just as Darkness and Lightness constitute the DAY.

This African Cultural Philosophy of permanent negotiation of contiguities and the permanent interpenetration of contraries is based on the concept that God created everything and everybody to portray God's infinite GOODNESS. Evil exists only in the thoughts of men and the uses and default they make of the Goodness in things. This African Cultural Philosophy of tolerance and accommodation of all people, irrespective of race, religion, ideologies and preferences; and all created beings in the spirit of Non-Violence is often opposed the by Western European and Semitic Philosophy and ideology of permanent opposition of contraries, which are founded on the theory of an eye for an eye, violence for violence; and which is defined as the permanent binary of the two created worlds of permanent opposition of "Good" against "Evil," "We" against the "Other-Worldly"; "God" against the "Devil," whereas Ali Mazrui confirms "God" is "White," "European" and "Semitic"; while the "Devil" is "Black" and "African."

That is how Hubert Henry Harrison came to create the New Negro, with Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association - UNIA, of the Harlem Renaissance, in the early 1920s, to affirmative African Renaissance of accepting the GOODNESS in BLACKNESS, to culminate in Black is Beautiful and to be taken much later in affirmative action in the music of James Brown in the 1970s who finally declared: "Say it loud; I am Black and Proud to be Black"; just as White is Beautiful and Proud to be White.

Innocent Ebere Uwah (2011) brings out clearly this creation of the permanent of contraries, Whiteness as opposed to Blackness propagated in the communication media and the education of White children from the cradle against Black children. This is the Racist Philosophy of Whiteness upheld and propagated by White and Semitic Philosophers and projected by the White-Semitic media as amply demonstrated by the author:

“Levy-Bruhl and Hegel (Bayart, 1993) arguably are both proponents of the kind of binary opposition that characterized Western colonial thinking in relation to Africa. Hawkes speaks of Nietzsche as contending that “this idea [legitimation of binary oppositions] is to justify and perpetuate the division of society into a privileged group of Greek, aristocratic men, and the excluded “others”: women, slaves, and barbarians” (Hawkes, 1996, p.156). Particularly in his book, Ideology, Hawkes highlights Nietzsche’s ideas by presenting it as a foundation for the classification of things between the “good” and the “bad,” “us” and “them,” and “we” and the “other” and as grounded on an egoism that excludes the “other” as different and inferior. It is the view held by most colonial warlords and used against Africa in the colonial days. According to him, “in the past, civilizations have generally developed sophisticated criteria to demonstrate the errors of their victims or rivals. The Greeks declared foreigners to be uncivilized, primitive barbarians who lacked the gift of rational thought; the early Christians portrayed pagans as sinful, worldly idolaters, addicted to the things of this world and the pleasures of the flesh (Hawkes,1996, p. 13). This too, I argue, extends to most filmic representations produced in the West which define Africa predominantly in terms of their “primitiveness” and not in relation to their social ideals. Notable among such films are King Solomon’s Mines (1937), Kongo (1932), Naked Terror (1961), So This is Africa (1933), Tarzan, the Ape Man (1981), Cry, the Beloved Country (1951), Come back Africa (1959), Out of Africa (1985), African Queen (1951), Dogs of War (1980), Zulu (1963) and Zulu Dawn (1979).”

Historically speaking, the binary opposition did not derive from the Greeks. The Jews were among the first people to start this binary opposition of “The Chosen” and “The Unchosen,” the “Clean” and “Unclean,” the “Israelites with a Covenant with God” and the “Goyim” whom they identified as Gentiles, Barbarians and Unclean.

Unlike in the pre-colonial African Charter of Human Rights which is well portrayed in ancient Egyptian Charter of Human Rights where women, slaves and servants could attain the highest status in society, the Indo-European, Semitic and Judeo-Christian Human Rights Charter did not include women or slaves and servants. The African Human Rights Charter advocated the interpenetration of contraries as opposed to the binary system where some people were perpetually excluded from the social justice and welfare for life.

This permanent interpenetration of contraries in a peaceful understanding manner of tolerance is the backbone of African Renaissance Cultural Philosophy of Cross-Cultural dynamics which does not affirm only the GOODNESS IN BLACKNESS, but also the GOOGNESS IN ALL HUMANITY, including WHITENESS, YELLOWNESS OR REDNESS.

Most Africans forget that Africa is still the Cradle of Humanity and Civilisations today and has to recreate itself with all the human resources, animal and vegetational which all constitute the natural resources at its disposal to rebuild that Cradle in a more Creative and Sustainable Renaissance manner.

This African Renaissance of the New Humanism and the interpenetration of contraries can be achieved only through effective communication, practical fundamental research to capture the dynamic mind-sets of individuals, especially the new inroads made by youths in peer group communication, and through popular education.

Regarding the importance of cross-cultural dynamics and rhetoric in the development of Pan-Africanism Humanism, Cecil Blake (2011) laments the fact that not enough research and promotion was made in the use of the Media and Culture as tools for effective branding and selling of the Pan-Africanism idea.

Cecil Blake explains that where the Media was used as a tool for development it was concentrated only in the Mass Media component without paying enough attention to the other forms of the Media. The author introduces rhetorical theory into the debates on Pan-Africanism and demonstrates to show how the growth and development of the idea of a movement which started with a Pan-Blackist agenda, and changed later into the Pan-African movement, with a focus on the campaigns between 1900 and 1958. Applying Lloyd Bitzer's "Rhetorical Situation," the author uses this "... *theoretical construct to discuss and analyze how spokespeople of both phases, handled their rhetorical tasks.*" He lashes out on the authors of the rhetoric of Pan-Africanism for this lack of foresight in using culture as a conceptual and practical frame work of reference to support their rhetoric for Pan-Africanism saying:

"Pan Africanism, so deeply influenced by contexts of public addresses, can only be explained well by rhetorical analysis and rhetorical theory and provides an opportunity to redress one of the imbalances of communication research in Africa...The dominant focus on communication research/studies has been in the area of mass communication. This imbalance in the composite field of communication has been addressed in many conferences of the African Council on Communication Education over recent years, but somehow, the disproportionate dominance of mass communication in pedagogy and research remains intact. The research tradition in communication continues to emphasize how mass communication could be put to the service of national development efforts in Africa."

Just as the founders of Pan-Africanism transformed it into a discourse of an exclusive elitist class affair, and did not bring it down to the level of the masses; so also was culture left out in the core structural frame construct of the body lifespan and dynamics of Pan-Africanism.

That is to say that Pan-African Movement would have been understood, in its dynamics as the outcome and transformation from its primal pristine “Pan-Blackist Agenda,” to use the expression of Cecil Blake (2011). The “Pan-Blackist Agenda” was to fight against “White Racism,” “White Injustice” and “Domination of Black-People by White SUPREMACISTS”. This was the Agenda that had endeavoured to forge on the New Identity of the New Negro and his and her New Africanness. It would have also realised that this was one of the most complex Agenda of African Renaissance which was constantly changing.

It would have also been understood that this “New Negro,” just as the Pan-Blackist Agenda, was in a permanent continuous process of African Renaissance, and not just as an eventual static achievement. It would have also been understood that the African Renaissance was in its New Cultural Construct. And that this African Renaissance required that permanent negotiation and reconstruction of its achievement within the contiguities of the world ambient realities of the changing dynamics and mechanisms of their technological constructs. It would have also foreseen the need for its African Renaissance to include the African Indigenous Knowledge and Technological construct and its fusion within the Modern Industrial Revolutionary Technological Development in the way the South East Asian countries and especially China, Japan and Korea have done.

And so its failure as a Pan-African Movement, was the lack of the foresight in making African Culture the backbone and matrix of this African Renaissance idea as the most non-violent pragmatic, marketable and consumable product of Pan-Africanism. Cecil Blake castigates the advocates of Pan-Africanism for this lack of corresponding cultural backup when he explains that:

“The author concludes that the leading proponents of Pan-Africanism failed to target the African masses after decolonisation, and failed also to use African culture as a part of the frame of reference to support their arguments for a united Africa.”

African leaders failed to use Cheikh Anta Diop’s research and academic treasure of “The Cultural Unity of Africa”. They failed to employ the sensitive and creative feminine and virile minds of African researchers and intellectuals

to foster and celebrate this cultural unity of Africa. If they had paid heed to these academic researches, this would have culminated in the wider celebration of the Pan-African permanent and Ritualised African Renaissance of the African Cultural Jamboree Celebration.

Because after the Wars of Colonial Liberation and Freedom-Fighting, African Renaissance would have embraced this new cultural matrix of the New Wave Revolutionary Pan-African reconstruction of Non-Violence and Preventive Diplomacy for the spread of Peace and Love for Humanity. They have failed to understand if man is political animal as Aristotle says, she is also a ludic animal, who places the quest for creativity and happiness as the teleological objective of her and his lifestyle.

Tentative policies and actions, but not with a constructive agenda, were made to celebrate the African Festival of the Arts and Culture. But the squabbles that went on whether to call it Black African Art Festival, with an exclusive agenda to determine what Blackness entailed; or just simply African Festival of the Arts and Culture, had prevailed to this day. And so the cultural construct of the African Renaissance has been lost in the senile struggle and Rhetoric of not being BLACK enough or being too WHITE, too SEMITIC and ARABIC as Bongashu Tanla Kishani (20012) explained to me the squabbles that went on between Alioune Diop the Director of Presence Africaine of Paris and the organizer of the Lagos FESTAC. That is how the African Festival of the Arts and Culture died just after the Dakar, Lagos and Algiers chapters because Africans did not understand they had to use all the God-Given Resources and the Human-Driven Creative Resources of Africa to forge in the Cultural Engineering of all Peoples Africa. They did not understand that the African saying that “Population is Power” was true and pertinent to the African agenda of liberation from domination and poverty. They still don’t believe, as Amilcar Cabral and Muammar Kaddafi told them that the harnessing of the all human forces and resources of Africa was indispensable for building African Unity and Liberation from its Neo-Colonial marauders and vultures. And since then no Pan-Africanist, except Muammar Kaddhafi who was caricatured by his good-for-nothing peers and lackeys of the Western Super Powers, has even tried to revive the reconstruction of this cultural dimension and matrix of the African Renaissance of the Pan-African Movement and Unity.

Meanwhile, the Cultural Construct of African Renaissance has been captured and angencied by NOLLYWOOD. With its all-embracing indigenous and modern artificial intelligence scriptive and graphic skills and strategies, has come from the back door, of individual and Civil Societal

endeavour, to capture the African and World attention. It has in its own aesthetic and visual anthropological endeavour succeeded to champion and put the African Renaissance Pan-Africanism on the globalisational front stage of modern technological communication and discourse.

NOLLYWOOD has jump-started the chasm to bridge the rhetoric, the scriptive and artistic visual anthropological gap of Pan-African communication skill building; it has innovatively transformed the artificial intelligence arena for the humanising strategic Pan-African epistemological matrix building.

In his analysis of Nollywood and post-colonial Pan-Africanism, Innocent Ebere Uwah (2011) explains the great role Nollywood has played in deconstructing the colonial African identity (Mudimbe, 1984) and constructing the new African identity, when he affirms that:

“With the recent UNESCO’s rating of the Nigerian film industry as second in the world, there is increasing evidence that the expanding production and distribution is making it significant among cultural industries not only in the continent of Africa but internationally. Like every other successful media industry it is not only setting the agenda for others to follow but also asserting in its aesthetics and cultural representations a “new” African identity construction.”

The fundamental objective of Pan-Africanism which, according to Marcus Garvey, was the deconstruction of the Negro and the African created by the Slave Master; the physical and mental liberation of the Slaver and the Slave; the restoration of the self-pride and new image of the “New Negro” and the “Renaissance African,” has been fulfilled with one swap of the camera the mighty gun of the visual media. As Innocent Ebere Uwah (2011) puts it clearly:

“Pan-Africanism and its ideological vision of Pan-Africanism above all envisage the development of Africa as moving toward the unity of African political and cultural diversity. Those who led the movements for Africa’s independence from the colonial masters believed that, given commonalities of race and culture and unity of purpose and mission, all Africans can help to develop Africa.”

Nollywood has become the new FIAT with which the God of Africa recreated and reconstructed the post-colonial African Renaissance that had been more in theory than in practice; the African Renaissance that has been very elitist than popular and for the masses. Nollywood has succeeded to bridge the barrier and the digital divide (William Shyntum Tallah, 2000)

between the neo-liberalist cinema for the Talented Tenth, the privileged neo-colonised mind of African of the rich wallowing in his mental-slavery, to communicate with and inform the poor and the deprived masses. This is exactly what Innocent Ebere Uwah is explaining concerning the far-reaching exploits of Nollywood in its outreach to the African masses in Africa, the African Diaspora and the entire world with regard to reconstructing a positive image and personality and identity of Africa. He reiterates:

“Nollywood, within the short period of its existence, has brought about what Mbye (2007) believes is a paradigm shift in post-colonial African cinemas. Nollywood has created an image of “Africanness” that is explored in films in its aesthetics, cosmogonies and construction of African identities. Through largely informal networks, Nollywood films are distributed across Africa and throughout the world, especially among the African diaspora. What is of interest in this article is how Nollywood has contributed to a Pan-African ideology. What discussions of philosophy in Africa have debated at a more intellectual level, the Nollywood film industry by means of its cultural affirmations has introduced in a process of self reflection in Africa at a more popular level.”

Nollywood is being questioned as to what kind of Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance it is projecting. As Chinua Achebe confirmed that proverbs are palm oil with which words are eaten, so also could we say the Nollywood has become the palm oil with which African Renaissance is cooked and consumed. Nollywood has therefore, according to Mbye (2007) as quoted by Innocent Ebere Uwah (2011), been able to build in its storylines the common African cultural experiences which have contributed to the *“shaping and promoting current projects of national, regional, continental and Pan-African integration.”*

In so doing, Nollywood’s New African Renaissance objective is to give voice to all peoples of Africa in the New World Media Order, which Moktar Mbow was striving to install and deconstruct the White and Racist Western monopoly of the media, when he was the Director of UNESCO in the 1980s, and commissioned the re-writing and reconstruction of the African Renaissance History, written by Africans about themselves and not by Slave Masters, Conquerors, King Leopold’s Ghosts and heartless Colonisers of Africa. This audacity of reconstructing Africa’s Colonised History by the first African Director of UNESCO did not please the British and the Americans who accused him of squandering UNESCO funds for grandiose unfruitful projects. This was because Moktar Mbow refused to bootlick and even lick their asses as they have reduced gullible and bowl-in-hand Africans to always

bend low in disgrace instead of upholding their dignity and identity as the Chinese are doing today.

Moktar Mbow's action of reconstructing African Colonised History was in keeping with the original objective of Pan-Africanism as projected by its founders, from the Diaspora to Africa, and promoted relentlessly by African Pan-Africanists along with Kwame Nkrumah and taken up again in the 21st Century by Muammar Kaddhafi. Innocent Ebere Uwah (2011) brings out this endeavour of Nollywood in his article explaining:

“Pan-Africanism and its ideological vision of Pan-Africanism above all envisage the development of Africa as moving toward the unity of African political and cultural diversity. Those who led the movements for Africa’s independence from the colonial masters believed that, given commonalities of race and culture and unity of purpose and mission, all Africans can help to develop Africa. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Sedar Senghor of Senegal, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia all appealed to Africa’s sense of unity as a fundamental objective. They especially espoused forms of communalism, self-reliance in Africa’s development and peaceful participatory co-existence as defined from an insiders’ perspective. Pan-Africanism and its ideological vision of Pan-Africanism above all envisage the development of Africa as moving toward the unity of African political and cultural diversity. Those who led the movements for Africa’s independence from the colonial masters believed that, given commonalities of race and culture and unity of purpose and mission, all Africans can help to develop Africa. Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana was the most explicit and energetic leader in spelling out this task, and he devoted much of his time and writings to the ideology and objectives of Pan- Africanism. Generally the idea of Pan-Africanism emerges in the context of exploring the identity and existence of Africans through their cultures. This entails letting the people have “their own voice” and speaking out of their own concerns by themselves rather than being spoken “to” or “for” as was the case before Africa’s political independence. In contrast to the stereotypical distortions that branded Africans as a people without ideation and foregrounded the absolute darkness of the continent, the founding political leaders of independence challenged the European concept of national identity as a continual war among peoples with a vision of peaceful pan-Africanism as fundamental in their ideology and nation-building principles. They wanted a unity from “within” that would question the distorted notions about the continent and its cultures against conflictive Western ethnocentricisms. Irele sees Hegel’s philosophy as some of the most influential statements rationalizing Europe’s ethnocentrism in regard to the rest of the world. It is, he argues, “the standard that provides a powerful philosophical base for the chorus of denigration of the non-White races by European colonial adventures all

through the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century” (Irele, 2007, p. 12). According to him, “this ideological significance of Europe’s contemplation of a world in which it was master by reason of the quality of its collective mind emerges most clearly in Hegel who, by excluding Africa from the historical process through which the human spirit fulfils itself, places Africa at the opposite pole of Europe and as its spiritual antithesis” (Irele, 1983), Irele focuses the interpretation of Europe’s ethnocentricisms on Levy-Bruhl who is regarded as a pro-Hegelian acolyte. According to him, “the high point of European ethnocentrism was attained by the work of Lucien Levy-Bruhl who devoted time to demonstrating the disparity between the nature and quality of the European mind and what he called the “primitive mentality” of the non-Western peoples and cultures” (Irele, 1983, pp. 11-13).”

16.4. Communication, Pan-African Citizenship For The New-Wave Revolutionary African Renaissance

The New-Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism and Revolutionary African Renaissance comes in handy at a time when Africans are criticizing Europe’s ethnocentricisms without taking stock of the neo-ethnocentrism Africa is experiencing, that even reeks of xenophobia as in the case of South Africa and genocide as in the case of Rwanda, Darfur and Kenya most recently.

Communication also becomes handy as the fundamental base of epistemological constructs and transfer of knowledge which condition human behaviour and production. Communication can be understood as the complex language compendium utilized at ethno-societal levels, at national levels and transnational levels for the transmission of information and knowledge.

Hence it could be said with Chinua Achebe that the sum totality of language, and not only proverbs, constitutes the palm oil with which knowledge is produced, transmitted, eaten and digested by Africa’s ethno-societies. Language and communication constitute the bulwark on which not only ethnic identities and citizenries are built in Africa and the world; but essentially as media by which indigenous knowledge and technology are produced and transmitted from generation to generation.

In this sub-section of this chapter I am going to treat the problem of language as this uniting factor as well as a separating factor in Africa and the world. Then I will treat and analyse the problem of identity as derived from language and the building of citizenry/citizenship and nationalism for and against trans-nationalism in Africa and the world.

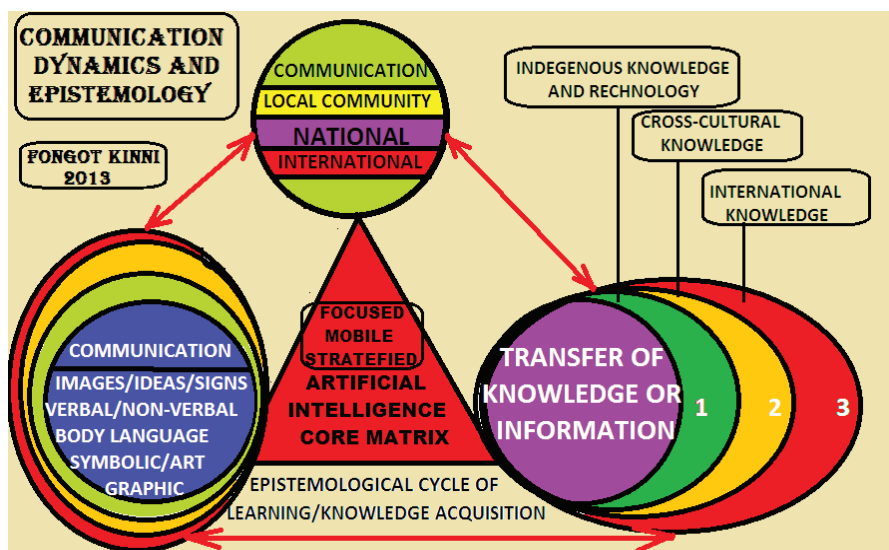
Language and Communication, New Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism For African Renaissance

As stated above, language and communication constitute the essential epistemological base for indigenous knowledge and technology acquisition and transmission. Africa, the cradle of humanity, is not only the cradle of languages but also the cradle of their dynamic structural generative linguistic engineering, their dynamics and mobility.

It is through this power of generative linguistic engineering and dynamic mobility that African languages have been able to create new languages that have transformed Africa into this renaissance Babel of languages. It has also facilitated this miscegenation of languages that have also created new hybrids of trans-ethnic languages that have contributed to the creation of the various classes of African languages as identified by D. Westerman & H. Beauman, Malcolm Guthrie, and Theophile Obenga (1957, 1962, 1974) respectively.

These linguists have systematically shown how through trans-ethnic and cross-cultural miscegenations and migrations African languages have been able to reconstruct major linguistic families and genealogies which demonstrate a common origin of generation, epistemology, knowledge-engineering and transmission.

And we have come to realize that these miscegenations did not stop at amalgamating only African contiguous languages into each other and other African languages, thus creating new shades and new levels and landscapes of African languages. It also went trans-continental and international by colonising, integrating and endogenisation non-African languages. This is the case with the colonisation and endogenisation of Arabic to form “Kiswahili” which is spoken as a lingua franca in East Africa and part of Central Africa; “Pidgin” which is spoken in West Africa, Papua New Guinea; and “Creole” in the French Caribbean, Mauritius and La Reunion; and the Lingala which is a Central African-Congolese Creolisation of the ethnic languages. Most recently Simo Bobda (1996) came up with the “New Englishes” which are the different endogenisations that the English language has been subjected to form another Babel of “Englishes” spoken and written all over the world: from Irish, Scottish, Welsh, American, African-American, Australian and New-Zealander English to Cameroonians, Nigerian, Sierra-Leonian, Gambian, Ghanaian, to Indian, Sri Lankan, Malayan, Burmese and Taiwanese and Honolulu Englishes; with irreconcilable syntaxes and taxonomies and vocabularies to the original native speakers of English.



It must be understood that what are very important in generative linguistics are not the words and alphabets the writer uses. They are the generative linguistic landscapings, with all the symbols and imageries, and cultural semantics which go on to paint and transfer the images on the minds or the visual pictures to the eyes of the beholders and the knowledge and information components that the writer is preoccupied in transmitting at given particular spaces, ages and time-events.

If this is not borne in mind, then we cannot talk of Pidgin or Creole or even Kiswahili, as being linguistically created generative languages. Non-linguists seem to see language as static and immutable just as they understand what they call tradition to be static and immovable and un-malleable. But they forget that language grows with the technological, scientific and artistic creativity and inventions or borrowings of peoples.

And so languages keep on changing to accommodate the new inventions and technologies and new knowledge invented by the Arts, Sciences and Technologies. People who hold just to one language seem to propose that there are some people who can be purely native speakers just because of race or birth, which is not true. Native speakers are those who are immersed in any language at any age so well that they master the genetics, the cultural and environmental landscaping that go to build the philosophies, the politics, the economics and sociologies of the languages they speak.

This is the way an African child can grow up through immersion to speak and master Chinese or Japanese or English, French, or German just like a native speaker; just like African-Americans today speak American English with

a perfect mastery, or just as Leopold Sedar spoke and wrote in French more than some so-called native speakers and was admitted into the Academia Française, the Pantheon of French Linguistics like a Frenchman even though African and Black. Pushkin the great Russian Literalist was African and Cameroonian and Musgum as the findings now go. The author who is also a linguist and, apart from his mother-tongues, Tángí-Kóm and Mùngáàkà, also speaks Pidgin, English, French, German and Italian and even writes in English and Italian more than many of the native-speakers.

The same generative Creolisation is true of new African languages which have developed in the course of history, due to displacement and mobility of people, into a form of African Creolisation where new languages and dialects are formed. There cases in Africa, like in the case of the “Bamileke” nation where the people speak more than one language interwoven with dialects of various creolisations like the Dschang sub-ethnicity whose language is “Yemba,” due to its miscegenation and contiguity to the Mbo, Widekum (Meta), Kenyang and the Ngemba-Speaking people of the former Southern Cameroons, who today constitute the English-Speaking people of Bamenda - Cameroon. The Funge of Bambui speak a creolized language which is a mixture of Bambui, Kidjoem and Kom from where they originated. Just like the Batie, and the Bangante of the Bamileke, speak languages which have a common derivation and mixture with the Chamba-Tadkon of Ba’ni-Nyonga which generated the creolisation of Papiakum language and Moghamo of the Takdon people to generate the “MÙNGÀÁKÀ” spoken today; just like the Làámnsó spoken today by the Nsó of Bui Division is a creole of the original Lîmbùm spoken by the Wimbùm people today of Donga-Mantung of the North West Region of Cameroon.

This experience debunks Professor Chinweizu claims (Lang T.K.A. Nubuor, 2013) that a common language could become the yardstick for measuring common nationalism or common identity of a people. The example of France, with its various languages, apart from the overriding French, including Lang Doc, Breton, Alsascien, Corse, and Basque; or Belgium with Walloon and Flemish languages, Luxemburg with French and German, and Switzerland with Swiss-Pidgin-German, Italian, Romanish and French.

This generative linguistic capacity of the colonisation and endogenisation of other languages, including non-African languages, only goes to demonstrate that the palm oil with which languages are eaten, consumed and used in the transmission and acquisition of indigenous knowledge and technology, lies more in the semantics spicing and giving meaning to the words used than to their mere “copy-catish” morphologies and formulations.

Most recently, (CNN, June, 2013) in the case of Trevon's acquitted murderer by a Miami court after the testimony of his girlfriend revealed how the American English, has undergone the African American colonisation and endogenisation when it comes to the use of the same seemingly English words, like "Nigga" generated from the White Americans' "Nigger" and now used by the New African Americans of today to mean a smart guy. It is in the same manner as the "New Negro" who, through the "Harlem Renaissance," transformed "Nigger" to an affirmative assertive and liberating Identity of "Self-Reliance" and "Self-Pride" of Black People of America; as opposed to the derogatory deprivation and domination of "Black People" by the White community of the United States of America. It was in the same manner that "Negritude" became an assertive affirmation of the Blackness as a symbol of pride and hope to Black Caribbean and Black Africans who assumed their identity and their new Creole language as an assertive emancipator weapon.

This endogenisation of the English language, like any other language, is indicative of the internalisation and appropriation of any language, colonial or foreign, that goes on in a contextualised ethno-cultural and socio-historical setting and landscaping whenever two languages meet and cross-breed with each other. Wherefore, the colonisation and endogenisation of the foreign and colonial languages can only happen when people internalise and appropriate a language and make it theirs from their landscaping of the language and the use of imaging, symbols, rhetoric and ethos and aesthetics to build up a new morphology and give it a new semantics quite different from the original form, context and meaning.

Francis B. Nyamnjoh and Katleho Shoro (2011) on writing on Language, mobility, African writers and Pan-Africanism tries to demonstrate this appropriation and internalisation of foreign languages by African writers to portray their Africanity. They affirm that:

"Mafeje on the other hand argues that "[i]t is not the language used which makes modern African literature 'African' but rather the symbols, the rhetoric, and the ethos invoked" (Mafeje, 1997, p. 17). "These are identifiable as authentically African," he continues. "That does not mean, however, that they are fixed. They are changeable according to the historical and social context" (Mafeje, 1997, p.17). It is thus important to see how African writers creatively appropriate or endogenize European languages by infusing them with African symbolism and idioms."

It is very pertinent to understand that it was this appropriation which permitted the Africans and African writers to landscape their usage of the

colonial languages to paint the images and manipulate the symbols to portray the African ethos to communicate with their audience in Africa and the Diaspora in a modified language very familiar to their mind-sets. The fact is that African writers in expressing their African Renaissance consciousness in the continent and in the Diaspora were primarily preoccupied with the manner in which this foreign colonial language appropriation was internalised and expressed to the understanding of their peoples, than just merely interested in gaining a wider reading public by their use of the colonial languages. Reading in between the lines of Francis B. Nyamnjoh's and Katleho Shoro's (2011) contribution, it stands out clearly that this preoccupation in what language to use by African writers is pertinent when they state that:

"The second perspective in the language debate belongs to most writers including Achebe, Ekwensi, p'Bitek and Wole Soyinka who have chosen to "Africanize" or endogenize colonial languages and rewrite in pidgin instead of committing to "clean" versions of either colonial or indigenous languages. These authors not only consciously attempt to straddle the two languages, and in fact cultures, as effectively as possible, but have also placed emphasis on the multiculturalism and complexity involved in the lives of colonized peoples. This second category of literary contributors who write in colonial languages extends to encompass those who see colonial languages as tools for speaking to a larger African audience, including diasporic Africans and, depending on the author, the Arabic audience often and arbitrarily excluded from the African peoples checklist. These writers appeal to the practicality of colonial languages and, in so doing, attempt to foster more inclusive conversations through their work. The reason these writers do not necessarily receive a category of their own is because although they first and foremost write in colonial languages, they aim to do so in a manner which speaks of and to African experiences. Consequently, as regards Mafeje's definition of an Africanized text, by speaking to and of African experiences these authors include African symbols, characters, rhetoric, ethos and creative use of colonial languages within their texts. Here, the litmus test for Pan-Africanism is not necessarily in how authentically African a language is, but rather, in how creative Africans are in their appropriation of colonial languages to address issues of Pan-African resonance. In this way, colonial languages lose their foreignness through creative local usage."

We realise that all language is a like a dynamic corporal structure that evolves in time and space, incorporating all the ingredients of the cultural landscapes that define their context; and build meanings to the fabrics of their interpretation of all ambient and remote foreign phenomena.

And in this linguistic engineering we realize that the Chaucerian English that has evolved to the level we have it today is nothing but a previously hotchpotch language derived from a series of colonisations and modifications which imposed themselves on the Celtic-Gaelic language from the Roman conquest, to the Danish conquest, to the Viking Norsemen conquest, the French Norman-Norsemen conquest and finally the Germanic-Saxonic conquest. That is why in its philology, the English language has all the Greek-Latin-French roots, as well as its Gaelic-Nordic-Danish and Germanic Saxon roots.

The essence of language is not just in the words used but in the meanings and knowledge the words convey and project in the body language corpus, the behavioural and the production patterns corpus of the people who use and propagate it. One can therefore say with those African writers who employ “foreign” linguistic frameworks in writing that their writings are actually African because they have colonised and appropriated the colonial languages and transformed them to suit their communication and epistemological objectives. These communication and epistemological objectives are to transfer certain knowledge to Africans that motivate African productions for Africa and the world.

Sankie Maimo, (2009) the famous and outstanding Cameroonian creative writer, poet and play write, who was also a classmate of Chinua Achebe at the University of Ibadan, is not against writing in a foreign language as long as one masters the language in question and relate with it in the same manner as he masters his mother tongue perfectly, without also misinterpreting concepts and taking them out of their contextualisational settings. Sankie Maimo explained to the author that he was fascinated by the English language just like Leopold Sedar Senghor was fascinated with French. He chose it and decided to learn and master it thoroughly like his mother tongue. He argues that mastering English and writing in it does not hinder him to transfer knowledge from his mother tongue Låámnsó’, Nsó’ language, into English in a manner that a native speaker and reader of English would understand the difference and the implication coming from the Nso language; just as a conversant Låámnsó’ writer or reader would understand the nuances and differences also. The author (Fongot Kinni, 2009 – 2013) worked with Sankie Maimo on his linguistic ideas and philosophy of language and came out with the following findings:

“Sankie Maimo is not actually against cross-cultural borrowings. He is against cultural borrowings of impositions where the final objective is to destroy and annihilate

host cultures and Africa's original cultures. These cultures in question are really the various indigenous knowledge acquisition techniques which mark the various creative art-skills and strategies African peoples apply in negotiating their contiguities for social-building process which mark the African identity and the African personality."

It is in this generative language context that we can grasp Francis B. Nyamnjoh and Katleho Shoro (2011) when they affirm that:

"The debate about a writer's choice in language, as Gyasi (1999) insists, is really a debate about a writer's attitude with regard to the European language; the value the writer assigns to the European language, how the writer uses the language and to what ends (Gyasi, 1999, p. 75). This attitude, in turn, speaks to the writers attitudes towards their own language and perhaps more significantly, their own identity. Of course, this very argument should be, and has been, inversed for writers using African languages. The attitude that writers have vis-à-vis the African language they use is also indicative of the writer's attitude toward European languages and, yet again, their own identity."

But care should be taken not to fall in the error of some linguists who try to foster the notion of stringent binary dichotomy between colonial and African languages; or try to insinuate by this binary approach that colonial languages are more valuable than African languages. Whereas, the problem of generative Linguistic engineering is more complex than the binary system; it is also very enriching for linguists and philologists. This fact is demonstrated by Francis B. Nyamnjoh and Katleho Shoro (2011) who quote Karin Barber to substantiate this theory:

"It is in this regard that Karin Barber (1995) is instructive in her critique of the stringent binary between colonial and African languages which African literary critics, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, have come to emphasize in their dealing with the language question. She holds that by applying the binary without paying attention to the complexities involved, Africans' experiences with the two languages are distorted and oversimplified. Furthermore, often, the implicit assumption in this binary has been that colonial languages possess a better value than African languages; a perpetuation of the colonial view of language (Barber, 1995, p. 11). The notion that African identity is a complex one and Pan-Africanism an aspiration and dynamic quest for inclusion should be reiterated to avoid oversimplification. Language categories are best seen as heuristic devices meant to illuminate the different yet often complementary Pan-African rhetoric."

These demonstrations from the manner of appropriation and transforming of colonial languages for African production and African all-embracing epistemology only goes on to confirm that there should rather be no opposition between African writers who write in the colonial languages and those who opt for maintaining the originality of the African languages in their pristine structures and morphologies as well as their semantics as Ngugi Wa Thiongo tries to do. Francis B. Nyamnjoh and Katleho Shoro (2011) have dwelt more on this aspect of complementarity between the two schools of writers when they acknowledge that:

“Ngugi, as writer, responded directly to the neo-colonial situation in Kenya by raising consciousness. This entailed challenging himself to overcome language as an obstacle between the intellectuals who often speak of the liberation and politics of ‘the masses’ instead of speaking to and with ‘the masses’ about liberation and politics. Moreover, Ngugi was also able to identify theatre as a practical means of conveying his literature. Thus, the meaning of the politics within his work had to be relevant, had to be of the people and through this, communication and culture were closely entwined. Ayi Kwei Armah (2008) speaks of how important it is for empowered, thinking, self-trusting and self sustaining communities to be encouraged, instead of having communities of people depend on leaders who prefer to withhold knowledge for their convenience, manipulate trust and understandably, who are incapable of popular governance, even with the best of good intentions. This simple yet crucial point is in line with the ideal of being African envisaged by Nkrumah: a self-determining, independent and confident personality able to look inward for answers and solutions to their own problems. Ayi Kwei Armah’s point is also in close conversation with Ngugi’s decision to use Gikuyu.”

To those who criticize Ngugi for not being Pan-Africanist and promoting Pan-Africanism enough because he excludes a large variety of Africans who do not speak Gikuyu from his readers’ library and fan clubs; they are also reminded that even if Ngugi decided to write in English, the scope of his reading public would also be very reduced because the larger majority of African readers are not English literate. The essence of writing for every African should be to communicate with his own people and develop and epistemological system of promoting the transmission of information and knowledge for the benefit of the indigenous society first and then to the national and further still to the international audience, bearing in mind the effectiveness and purpose of the communication. Allusion is made to this principle by Francis B. Nyamnjoh and Katleho Shoro (2011), insisting on the theory of self-determination at the grassroots by using African solutions for

African problems as Kwame Nkrumah advocated, and the nationalist endeavour of Ngugi insisting that:

“Ngugi’s shift to Gikuyu has, of course, been criticized as an anti-Pan- Africanist move because of the way writing in Gikuyu limits his literature to those who speak the language, thus excluding the majority of Africans. Notwithstanding the criticism, one cannot deny that Africa is in fact a fragmented, largely oral, continent. Thus, even if Ngugi had written solely in English there would still be a large number of people unacquainted with his work. It is in looking to produce literature that speaks directly to and of his own environment that Ngugi decreases his risk of making abstract assertions about the obstacles facing “his people” in their bid for attaining and maintaining liberation and their ability to self-determine and self-regulate, the way academia often does. Also, in looking to the particular geographical spaces with which the literary contributor’s identity is entwined, the idea of African solutions for African problems as advocated by Nkrumah is given the chance to materialize. Concentrating on the particular also leaves room for literature, in whatever form, to be translated into other languages thus bridging the gap between the national and international. What is more, translation made as mindfully as original texts, allows these subsequent translated texts to take into consideration the idiosyncrasies of the presumed audience. This is not to assume that there exists a homogenized English or Swahili audience but to allow for the Gikuyu version to be translated by the author in a way that makes the material relevant and meaningful to these audiences too. Notwithstanding the attractions of writing in African languages, there are indeed only a few writers who have taken the decision, like Ngugi, to write in endogenous African languages and received enough attention for them to be featured in the language debate.”

Ngugi’s approach could not be embraced by many African writers because it is not very easy to start. It requires not only a very creative mind but also a very committed African to tackle the epistemological problem of transmission and acquisition of knowledge by his people in a technologically fast changing world.

Also for those who make the effort to appropriate the colonial language like Wole Soyinka and Chinua Achebe, Leopold Sedar Senghor and a few others, it is not easy either to come up with an original creative rendition of the endogenised English or French to embrace the true colours of African cultural aesthetics, ethos and rhetoric.

The truth remains that whether Africa endogenises the colonial language, or whether it endeavours to recreate and revive African languages, it needs the mind of a creative genius of an Einstein, and the stamina and hard work of an

Hercules or an Atlas, to innovate and reconstruct the African epistemological and communication network for the African Renaissance system of knowledge acquisition, production and distribution at the ethno-national level, the colonial Nation-State level, and the international level. The utmost task-force endeavour into of this kind of networking for producing, sharing and communicating knowledge, must always have as the ultimate objective: the sharing and exchange of knowledge among Humankind of all shades, for the sustainable development of Humanity. This brings us now to the problem of citizenship and identity in the air of New-Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism for African Renaissance.

16.5. Citizenship And The New-Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism For Enhancing African Renaissance

One of the most excruciating problems with the African Renaissance of Pan-Africanism is the manner in which post-colonial African states are promoting the practice of pigeon-hole Nation-States, even right into the 21st Century, in the name of security. Most post-colonial pigeon-hole Nation-States have applied to the letter the clause of “*Uti possedetis jus*,” of maintaining the colonial territorial boundaries in tact to the point of exclusion of all other Africans considered as not nationals and intruders. What is worse is that this pigeon-hole Nation-States, unlike the European and American counterparts where “*jus soli*,” “place of birth” plays a very inclusive role for integrating foreigners, most African States instead apply the idea of “*jus sanguinis*,” “blood rights” for their citizenry rights. Countries like Cameroon, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and many other African countries apply this principle of “*jus sanguinis*” for their citizenship acquisition and recognition.

This jingoistic nationalism makes it impossible for the integration of African people in that no matter how long one would have been born and lived in a country, one still remains a foreigner, a foreigner. So how then can we talk of African Renaissance for the integration of peoples from different nations when we stick to this exclusivist idea of “blood rights” and what is sometimes called “Sons and Daughters of the Soil”. What is even worse, is the manner in which this principle of “*Jus Sanguinis*” is promoted even for citizens of the same nationality, like in Cameroon, where the 1996 Constitution recognises the status of autochthonism in a country where some citizens of the same territorial nation can claim the rights of “sons and daughters of the soil” against others who are considered “*allogenes*” or

foreigners. This is the same situation in countries like Ivory Coast where there are very different nuances of “Ivoirité” and autochthonism.

This situation is further encouraged by some African writers as Francis B. Nyamnjoh & Katleho Shoro (2011) admit that one of the greatest threats to Pan-Africanism is the problem of pigeon-holing the classical tradition of an Africa of flexible mobility, thus creating a very narrow-minded nationalism, militating against the freedom of movements of peoples, like the too common nomadism which guarantees the freedom people to move around like the “wandering cattlemen” of northern Nigeria encapsulated in Cyprian Ekwensi’s “Burning Grass” (1964, Francis B. Nyamnjoh & Kathelo Shoro, 2011). It is this narrow-minded nationalism condemned by Frantz Fanon which Francis B. Nyamnjoh & Katleho Shoro (2011) projects when they admit that:

“This was a problem perceptively predicted by Franz Fanon in the nascent years of post-colonial nationalisms. As Fanon argued, citizenship, “instead of being the all-embracing crystallization of the innermost hopes of the whole people, instead of being the immediate and most obvious result of the mobilization of the people,” has turned out to be “only an empty shell, a crude and fragile travesty of what it might have been” with a greater sense of flexible inclusion (Fanon, 1967, p.119). Under the coercive illusion of the “nation-state,” citizenship, far from celebrating a common humanity, has merely served to justify the trivialization and debasement of some and the glorification of others. This is especially the case in today’s world of accelerated mobility. As a continent of people on the move, it is a contradiction for nationalism to be predicated upon policing identities and seeking to confine flexible mobility to a handful of elite. Faced with ever more insidious ways by states and markets to police the movements of people and alternative cultural influences, all writers that choose not to take identities and belonging at face value, but to critically interrogate the boundaries of exclusion, can only be of service to pan-Africanism. These writers are an aspiration capable of uniting not only continental Africa and the African diaspora, but humanity at large, around the core values of what it means to be human and free.”

In the face of the rapidly rising xenophobia in South Africa which has arisen from the fact that many Africans, after the fall of the Apartheid regime, consider South Africa, and rightly so, as the Europe and “el dorado” of Africa. The rush to South Africa by these job-seekers and essential service providers has produced a very high xenophobia promoted both by the South African Police and the majority of jobless and poor South Africans who see the influx of Africans from other African countries as detrimental to their survival in the job market, even though many Black South Africans due to Apartheid are not

educated enough and entrepreneurial enough in their behaviour patterns. I had this experience when I went to South Africa with a marketing proposal for my fashion designs. I was eager to get Black South African partners but found none quite interested. I even left supplies for testing the market for free and eventually lost the entire collection of over fifty designed items till this day.

Francis B. Nyamnjoh and Katleho Shoro (2011) celebrate the new South African writers who are trying to criticise this rising xenophobia like the late South African novelist, Phaswane Mpe, author of *Welcome to our Hillbrow*. Nyamnjoh and Shoro relate the novel to the objectives of Pan-Africanism as proposed by Kwame Nkrumah and other Pan-Africanists like Ali Mazrui, highlighting that:

“The novel explores the tensions and temptations of the sort of narrow nationalism which Fanon cautions against. Written basically in two voices, the novel dwells at length on the pros and cons of narrow nationalism and pan-Africanism. The first voice, in favour of narrow nationalism, celebrates official rhetoric internalized by ordinary black South Africans of having graduated into citizenship, only for this to be endangered by the influx of Makwerekwere (black Africans from countries further up beyond the Limpopo River) with little but trouble to offer. There are black South Africans who feel strongly that Makwerekwere “should remain in their own countries and try to sort out the problems of these respective countries, rather than fleeing them,” since South Africa has “too many problems of its own,” and “cannot be expected to solve all the problems of Africa”. Negative views about African migrants are particularly dangerous when held by the police. We gather from the novel how policemen arrest Makwerekwere, “Drive them around Hillbrow for infinite periods of time,” saying: “See it for the last time, bastards” (Mpe, 2001, p. 21). The second voice is more measured, and constantly tries to mitigate the tendency to scapegoat and stereotype Makwerekwere, who, most of the time, are not as guilty as they are painted. As we gather from the novel, it is outright dishonest to blame the woes of post-apartheid South Africa entirely on Makwerekwere, who are often “too much in need of sanctuary... to risk attracting the attention of police and security services.” Unlike South African blacks, Makwerekwere are only too aware of how limited their recourse to legal defence is if they are caught. “The police could detain or deport them without allowing them any trial at all. Even the Department of Home Affairs ... [is] not sympathetic to their cause” and few seem to care that the treatment of Makwerekwere by the police, and the lack of sympathy from the influential Department of Home Affairs, runs “contrary to the human rights clauses detailed in the new constitution of the country” (Mpe, 2001, p. 23). If South Africa is overflowing with Makwerekwere seeking greener pastures, it is partly in response to the welcoming gestures of the first president of the new South Africa, Nelson Rolihlabla Mandela,

“unlike his predecessors who erected deadly electric wire fences around the boundaries of South Africa trying to keep out the barbarians from Mozambique, Zaire, Nigeria, Congo, Ivory Coast, Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia and from all over Africa fleeing their war-torn countries populated with starvation like Ethiopia flashing across” (Mpe, 2001, p. 26). But once in South Africa, Makwerekwere are seldom welcome to stay, as South African media, television especially, drum up xenophobic sentiments with images of Makwerekwere “every now and then stretching their legs and spreading like pumpkin plants filling every corner of our city and turning each patch into a Hillbrow coming to take our jobs in the new democratic rainbowism of African Renaissance that threatened the future of the locals Bafana Bafana fans” (Mpe, 2001, pp. 26-27).”

Nyamnjoh and Shoro expose these xenophobic images of Makwerekwere painted as those who come to snatch the jobs of Black South Africans, has developed the pigeon-hole Nation-State syndrome where everybody wants to jealously guard his exclusive sovereignty with a lot of pride in the principle of “jus sanguinis” that is made to bear on all possibilities of inclusion. Thus, instead of seeing the other African as complementary and integrative, the Makwerekwere syndrome has pushed the South African Xenophobia to its extremist points to the detriment of an integrative Pan-Africanism and a liberating African Renaissance, as they document on the various obstacles indicating that:

“While they may show vocal support for Black non-South African football teams, whenever they played against European clubs, some local Bafana Bafana fans demonstrate “glaringly ... prejudice towards Black foreigners the rest of the time,” snatching every opportunity “to complain about the crime and grime in Hillbrow,” for which they hold such foreigners responsible – “not just for the physical decay of the place, but the moral decay” as well. Black and white South Africans tend to be agreed that “Hillbrow had been just fine until those Nigerians came in here with all their drug dealing” (Mpe, 2001, pp. 17,118). Mpe reminds us of how easily narrow nationalism can jeopardize Pan Africanism. How, he asks, through one of his characters, could South Africans have become so oblivious of the gestures of Pan-African hospitality and solidarity they received in the days of apartheid? How could they forget that “some Makwerekwere were fleeing their war-torn countries to seek sanctuary here in our country, in the same way that many South Africans were forced into exile in Zambia, Zaire, Nigeria and other African and Non- African countries during the Apartheid era”? (Mpe, 2001, pp. 18-19; see also Neocosmos, 2010). Obsession with narrow nationalism is not just a South African issue (Nyamnjoh 2006, 2010; Englebert 2009, pp.197-218). The rhetoric of Pan-Africanism, free flows and dissolving

boundaries is countered by the intensifying reality of borders, divisions and violent strategies of exclusion almost everywhere on the continent. Nkrumah, addressing heads of state in Addis Ababa, warned that a gradual approach to African unity would possibly deepen isolations and exclusiveness, thus making unity and peace harder to actualize. As the current reality of national and intra-national tensions reveals, Nkrumah was right (Nkrumah, 1963; Biney, 2011). The questioning of previous assumptions about nationality, citizenship, solidarity and interconnectedness is on the increase. This is as true of how nationals and citizens perceive and behave towards one another as insiders, as it is of how they behave towards immigrants, migrants, and/or foreigners as outsiders. The crisis of citizenship and subjection flamed by mutually exclusionary discourses and claims of entitlement and injury by the Hutu-Tutsi divide in Rwanda that resulted in the genocidal extravaganza of 1994 (Mamdani, 2001), along with the current conflict in Côte d'Ivoire fuelled by competing and exclusionary claims of Ivoirété [Ivorianness] (Thiémélé, 2003) are sufficiently indicative of how increasingly difficult it is to be sanguine about belonging in Africa, despite continued aspirations towards Pan-Africanism."

Nyamnjoh and Shoro go on to demonstrate how the talk about Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance cannot be taken seriously if effort is not made practically to create a more conducive and embracing and integrating space as well as a more integrating identity. They show how it is all futile to talk of a closed up Pan-Africanism which cannot be flexible and fluid enough to include and integrate whosoever in the continental or in the Diasporan level can identify with this philosophy.

Pan-Africanism cannot be a straightjacket affair if one has to build only on the "jus sanguinis" principle while neglecting the principle of "jus soli" where the space of belonging can be multidimensional and fluid as well as virtual enough, taking into consideration the strides made by modern technology in creating the virtual space, to accommodate people of good faith who want to promote Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance.

Nyamnjoh and Shoro present a glaring situation of the editor of Pambazuka, who is not only Kenyan, but also Indian and a promoter of Pan-Africanism. Their advocacy for the open and fluid Pan-Africanism is worth the support and enthusiasm for Africans who would like to create the open space and playground to build up a more inclusive Pan-Africanism and stronger Pan-Africanism for a new wave African Renaissance, as they explain:

"It is significant, not only that its founder and editor-in-chief – Firoze Manji – is a leading Kenyan public intellectual of Indian descent, but also, that Pambazuka News

has rapidly become an authoritative platform for weekly commentary on topical local and global issues by intellectuals and activists for social change from Africa and the African diaspora.¹¹ To deny Firoze Manji his Indian origins in the making of his Kenyanness and Pan-Africanism, would be to impoverish the otherwise infinite possibilities of being African epitomized by diasporas in general, and the African diaspora in particular. This is indicative of the sort of flexibility and inclusiveness in belonging that best guarantees the attainment of Pan-Africanism as an aspiration in a world where Africanness is dynamic, complex and constantly renegotiated by Africans and African diasporas, especially the youth. While these examples are clearly limited, they represent ongoing efforts made by writers and Pan-African organizations towards keeping alive the Pan-African aspirations of Africans and diasporic Africans as open-ended identities. They are testimonies of achieved and achievable Pan-Africanist efforts. Present day Pan-Africanism draws from and feeds into the Pan-Africanism of the past, and its decentralized nature promises an even more accommodating future those seeking solidarities as Africans and Africans in the making (Mazrui, 2005, p. 64). The fact that the interests of Pan-Africanism may also be served by non-Africans, and sometimes even by those considered by Africans as imperialists, is best illustrated by the story of the setting up by Alan Hill of Heinemann publishers of the "African Writers Series," that made African literature available in Africa and to the wider world..."

This analysis brings us back to the debate on how the African and the New Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism should be defined. This preoccupation for a new definition brings about new questions requiring critical answers for future alternatives for the way forward to the New Wave Revolutionary Pan-Africanism, namely:

Do we have to remain in the racial and "Jus Sanguinis" definition of the African taking into consideration just the principle of Blackness or Blackism?

Should the Revolutionary African Renaissance not also include more than the continental dimension of Humanity in the rainbow continent which Africa has been destined to become as the cradle of humanity and its Rainbow Diaspora?

Wherefore, is not the shift from raciality to continentalism, then embraced in the pertinent problem of social and economic class stratification and struggle, and the divide between the haves and the have-nots, that is essential?

Would the preoccupation not consist in managing to see how the dynamics of mobility would gear Pan-Africanism to create a more fluid space of integrating Africans of all shades and all ideologies and beliefs both in Africa, the Diaspora and with the rest of Humanity?

Is the problem ahead not the deconstruction of “poverty” epitomized in the deprivation of Freedoms, Human Rights, Sustainable-Entrepreneurial-Capacity-Building-Development – SECBD, wherever it has taken grips since Slavery, Colonisation and various deprivations suffered by African people and the rest of Humanity?

Lang T.K.A. Nubuor (2013) in his review and critic of a book review by Peter Mietzner on *‘Sustaining the New Wave of Pan-Africanism, and a Workshop on the same subject at the University of Namibia, December 6-9, 2010*, makes this pertinent remark on the debate of African citizenship and Revolutionary Pan-Africanism as proposed by Kwame Nkrumah:

“Territorially, the reality of borders that constrict Africans in Bantustan pigeon-holes called ‘countries’ does not nullify the conscious African’s awareness of the commonality of African space, be it outer space, marine space or terrestrial space. Dr. Ikawebe Bunting, in his article In Search of a New Africa, narrates how he once drive(d) from Tanzania into Kenya without knowing that he ha(d) actually made the ‘crossover’. The Fulani herdsman respects no boundaries because he does not know or see any. The reality of ‘different territories’ in Africa exists in the mind of Ivory Tower academicians and those intellectuals employed to sustain that fiction for their neo-colonial advantage and fulfilment. These are the people who mysteriously see ‘borderlands’ and consider geographical existences like the Sahara Desert as social barriers. They seize every opportunity to sustain a Bantustan Africa. Considering the facts of history, Africans share a common history of antagonism in the liberation struggles against colonialism, if we have to cite a recent phenomenon. Dr. Sam Nujoma, at the University of Ghana in December 2010 just at the time of the Workshop, shares his own experiences of the liberation struggles. The concerted African involvement in the liberation of Namibia and other areas in Southern Africa is well captured in that public lecture, captioned The Importance of Pan-Africanism in the Contemporary African Political Scene. The lecture is not different from his keynote address at the Workshop. The two machine guns and two pistols that were used to ignite the armed struggle in Namibia were supplied to Dr. Sam Nujoma by the Algerian government and were carried through Egypt to Tanzania. The Arab African and Black African involvement is without question.”

This critic and testimony of Sam Nujoma brings to the front the issue of basing Pan-Africanism purely on race, even though it started as a Blackist Movement, due to the circumstances in history. It is just like holding the Arabs and the Europeans hostage and excluding them from the African identity, because their forefathers were the slavers, colonisers and exploitators

of Black Africa. It is true that Africans can ask for compensations for the damages caused. But the truth remains that colonisation as a human factor has its casualties like all colonisations. Africans forget that there have been endo-colonisations of African ethnicities by African ethnicities, just like the GENOCIDE of Rwanda just yesterday, and the GENOCIDE of Darfur and even what could have turned out to be GENOCIDE during the previous Kenyan Presidential Elections six years ago.

The way forward would be to apply the laws of Corporate Social Responsibility and Social Responsibility very stringently in Africa. With the application of the law of Corporate Social Responsibility, Africans and their foreign partners would engage in business in Africa and the world with a 'Human Face' where business entrepreneurship of all sorts take into consideration the welfare of the human and natural environment in which they operate by ploughing back the proceeds of the profits they make from the community. With the application of the laws of Social Responsibility, societies and communities would be very vigilant in the manner in which they exploit and utilise the natural environment, so as not to compromise the interest of the future generations to come. This goes with landscaping, land distribution and land use in a manner that does not create a long term disadvantage to the future generation.

This is why we have to admit that Arabs and Europeans in Africa are African even though they form an exogenous population. But Arab-Africans and European-Africans have to be taught to beware of the damage and deprivation the neo-liberal materialist economic exploitation of the land causes to the majority of Africans. Wherefore they have to accept the equitable redistribution of the land of Africa to benefit all Africans.

This is where the concept of Professor Chinweizu discourse on COMMITMENT comes into play when he presents this as the basis for nationalism and citizenry. The research of Obiagiele Lake on Diaspora African Repatriates in Ghana (1995) showed that some African Americans also placed race as the determining factor for Pan-Africanism. It is very interesting to see that some African Americans see these racial differences as a hindrance to Pan-Africanism, its survival and expansion in the world when it comes to this principle of commitment. Obiagiele Lake, (1995) gives us the case of Nguyen, who came to Ghana in 1967, and

"...placed a great deal of emphasis on race, and secondarily on culture, in formulating her views on pan-Africanism and the role diaspora Africans have to play in that process...Pan-Africanism to me means a united Africa. Well, it's supposed to be

the whole of Africa including North Africa, but I don't think those Arabs think of themselves as Black or Africans. They're only Africans when it's their interest politically. They really don't identify with Black Africa. So I think the idea that Nkrumah had was beautiful, but I don't think the Arabs adopted it as such. So I think that we have to somehow limit that Pan-Africanism to sub-Saharan Africa. We should be able to communicate with the Northerners, but I don't think it's going to be integrated, united like the United States of America was envisioned. I don't think it's possible because the two cultures are too different, you know. And it's such a different race of people...we have the heroes who started long before even Nkrumah had the idea of pan- Africanism. That West Indian. . . . Marcus Garvey, he had the idea. You know, I admire him. And there are others. Frantz Fanon, he's a Black. So indeed, we should bring in all our people. If they're in the Caribbean or wherever they're from. As long as they are Black they have a role to play in uniting Africa-I mean sub- Saharan Africa."

But does "Commitment" to a nation mean that one would not also have allegiance or collaboration with another nation? Africans and the rest of Humanity would be asked to walk a very tight rope if they were to limit commitment and nationalism just to their monolithic pigeon-hole "Nation-States" and forget that the real and virtual globalisational nature of the universe and culture allow them the freedom to identify with whosoever and whenever they can without necessarily jeopardising the interest they bear to their immediate living state.

And if all humanity were to live with this awareness of the Corporate Social Responsibility – CSR and the Social Responsibility – SR we all owe to our immediate societies and environments in a relative manner of precedence and importance, there would be no limiting our commitment just to one geographic space, with regard to international relations and international outreach. This is what makes the critic of Lang T.K.A. Nubuor (2013) very interesting when he advocates that:

"Before we consider another dimension of Dr. Nujoma's lecture in Ghana it is worth taking note of this other aspect of the Chinweizuan conception of a nation: commitment. Prof. Chinweizu talks about the futility of an African Nation when half of its army is Islamic and committed to primary allegiance to the Arab (not Arab African) (See page 83). Another way of saying it is that it is futile to talk of an African Nation when its army is half Christian and committed to primary allegiance to the Israeli. Commitment must be to the African Nation. It is in this regard that he considers Sudanese Arab Africans not a part of Africans; and for two reasons. He

says, firstly, that these Sudanese, the products of inter Black African and Arab marriages, see themselves as Arabs and belong to Arab organizations though Arabs see them as second rate Arabs. Secondly, they are explicitly Islamic. But, they also belong to the African Union. We are here faced with an American situation. African Americans are not only a great mix of Christians and Moslems who consider themselves American but also express commitment to the African. Take note that some of these African Americans are the products of Black African and White American marriages. Immediately, think of Mr. Barak Hussein Obama. The question is whether their situation in the United States of America disqualifies the United States from being a nation. Does the African Diaspora in the USA disqualify the USA from being an American Nation? If the answer is 'No', does the Arab African in Africa (the Sudan and North Africa) disqualify the existence of an African Nation – bearing in mind that the jurisdiction under which a nation lives is not and has never necessarily been a single state? The same question arises even when we cite the Indian American situation for illustration.”

This kind of racialisation bordering on racism in the reverse which has become the central preoccupation of Professor Chinweizu is so disturbing in that instead of preoccupying our creative ideas to see how Africa can integrate all the productive forces at her disposal to move Africa ahead, and solve the problem of exclusion, deprivation and poverty; we should settle down to debate on who should be African and who should not. If we have to apply his theory of commitment as the criteria for becoming African, we would also find out that there many Black-skinned people who are not committed to Blackness or to Africa; and they will never contribute to the development of Africa or the idea of the African identity, just in the same way as Frantz Fanon was able to discover that there were many “Black Skins with White Masks” in the world, in Africa and the Diaspora. So of what use is this African Renaissance of Blackism or Negritudism?

This advocacy of Professor Chinweizu raises a lot of suspicion as confirmed by Lang T.K.A. Nubuor (2013) when he makes this critic:

“Prof. Chinweizu creates grounds for suspicion concerning his best intentions for Africans. He suggests in his paper under consideration that although some non-Black Africans living on the African continent see themselves as Africans they must be discouraged from the practice in order to dissociate them from African processes because of their commitments elsewhere. To this end, he suggests that instead of ‘African’ we should use ‘Negro’ for the simple reason of his belief that ‘Negro’ is a less attractive name for non-Black Africans. This is how he puts it at page 92: “Maybe we should

seriously consider finding and adopting a name for ourselves from an indigenous African language; particularly a name whose meaning would be repulsive to Arab and European settlers in Africa. While we search for such a name, we have no option, I think, but to revert to the name Negroes, which our European enemies bestowed on us. It has the supreme merit of having been applied to Black Africans, and Black Africans only, both on the continent and in the Diaspora; it never included Arabs, Europeans, Indians, etc., who have settled in Africa; and most importantly, none of them would welcome being called Negroes. So, this name is the only one that guarantees that they will voluntarily stay away from our organizations. So, in my view, until we come up with an isolating name from a Black African language – a name they will loathe to apply to themselves – Negroes it is.”...

There is no way Africans can dream that they will oust all invaders, settlers and occupiers of African land as Professor Chinweizu is proposing. This idea of fighting the new war against foreign invaders and settlers is not realistic since the descendants of the settler generations in Africa, just like those of the settler generations in the Americas cannot be told to leave America today for the original First Nation People, the so-called Native Indians.

But there must be a compromise, which is by allowing all settler populations with the understanding that they would comply with the Corporate Social Responsibility and the Social Responsibility towards the original ethnic communities and original peoples among whom they settled; and the subsequent respect and maintenance of their Natural Environment.

This means that the law of social justice must be entrenched in the constitutions of those countries like South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Kenya, dominated by European settlers; and the northern African countries overrun by the Arabs. With social justice, the law of Corporate Social Responsibility, the law of Social Responsibility would be applied, where there will emerge equity in distribution of the natural, artificial and social resources.

This will pre-empt all the conflicts which pitch ethnicity against ethnicity and race against race, like Blacks against Whites, in South Africa, and Black-Whites against their own Black brothers and sisters in Kenya and the rest of neo-liberalist capitalist Africa, and so forth. That is how I have come to appreciate the arguments of proffered by Lang T.K.A. Nubuor (2013) to counter the proposals of Professor Chinweizu when he elaborates:

“The important observation one makes of this is that mixed blood Africans who are said to have been Arabized are considered to be non-Africans. No such ostracism,

however, is applied to Westernized Black Africans living south of the Sahara. Our wonder is whether Prof. Chinweizu would like the same standard to be applied to Africans in the Diaspora. This innocent justification of racist hatred for African Americans in the USA logically ostracizes the African Diaspora from processes on the African continent; in fact, ostracizes them from any notion of the African Nation. Although, territorially, Arab Africans (whether of biological or historical origin and calling themselves Africans) live on African soil with cultures distinguishable from Arab culture and exclusive to Arab Africans in Africa in spite of some of them sharing a religion with Arabia Prof. Chinweizu says they must not be considered African. In fact, he contends that the Boer (European African) as well as the Indian African, who have similarly evolved cultures different from those of their countries of origin and unique to Africa, does not qualify or deserve to be called an African; and therefore of the African Nation. So that, in the final analysis, the African Nation can only be a Black African Nation. Hence, he focuses on Sub-Saharan Africa for the construction of his Pan-Africanism. The rest of the African landmass above the Sahara is a zone for future contestation to recover it for Black Africans. And, once recovered, it becomes unnecessary to retain the reference 'Black Africa' because that would be co-extensive to 'Africa'. In straight language, the kind of Pan-Africanism being projected here is aimed at purifying the African continent to its former state of a land of Blacks. This is how he renders it at pages 89-90: For avoidance of doubt and deadly confusions, it is necessary for each Pan-Africanist to specify which Africans, and which Africa, is the constituency of concern. This is very important because the African continent is no longer racially homogeneous...Some Pan-Africanists object to the use of the term Black Africa. Some do so claiming that imperialists have imposed terms like "Black Africa" and "sub-Saharan Africa" to drive a wedge between Black Africans to the South and their Arab African "brothers" to the north. Of course that is just nonsense. There are no Arab Africans, only Arab invaders of Africa. The deep racial and cultural and political divide between the Arab settler colonizers now in North Africa and the indigenous Black Africans is no fiction, no invention of the imperialists. It is a deluded continentalist doctrine that prevents some from recognizing that long-life. It is our duty to ourselves to recognise it. We gloss over it to our own peril, like the fool who insists that a python has become his brother by taking over part of his family compound. Some others object to the terms "Black Africa" and "sub-Saharan Africa" on the grounds that, by so restricting our designation, we concede to the Arab invaders the northern part of our continent. They say the entire continent is ours and we must keep the designation to remind us of our duty to recover the enemy-expropriated lands."

One realises that the problem of the ownership of the land is crucial to Professor Chinweizu. This is a crucial problem in Africa where the African

Economic Philosophy of land consider it as a “god” and sacred; and the use of land communally only through “usus fructus rights” and not through ownership by humans for capitalist exploitation, is diametrically opposed to the Islamic notion of the establishment of “Dar-Es-Islam,” “Home of Islam” wherever Islam conquered and recruited converts. It is also diametrically opposed to the Western neo-liberalist capitalism where land is a commodity to be sold and bought to make the maximum possible profits from it.

This is where Africans should endeavour to inculcate this spirit of communality and equity as far as land rights are concerned in the minds and practice of non-African settlers in Africa like the Arabs of Northern Africa; and the Europeans in Eastern and Southern Africa. The Whites must realise that it is unethical and blatantly against Social Justice for a minority like the 11% Whites to own 87% of the land all to themselves while the rest of the Black people are left to struggle with only 13% of mostly barren land like it is the case of South Africa.

Anna Mosi-Oa-Tunya (2013) in comparing the various gains made by Robert Mugabe and Nelson Mandela for their people in land reforms and education, has a very critical appraisal of the two leaders policies and their impact on the welfare of their people and country come 20/20 and has this to say:

“Mugabe pursued a policy of free education for the young people and opened night schools for the older citizens to be able to participate in the new economy. This policy burdened the country with debt but produced one of the most literate societies in Africa...Mandela is much beloved, his policies maintained the economic status quo but did little to raise a child in Soweto from the ghetto stuck in illiteracy and move them forward into another social and economic class...Though the land policy is controversial today it is my guess that twenty years from now when Zimbabwe is back to being the bread basket of Southern Africa people will forget the starvation and death of the land redistribution programs of the Mugabe regime but will view it as the end justifying the means. As for South Africa they will probably look to their northern neighbour and try to learn from Zimbabwe’s mistakes as they institute their own version of land reform. South Africa is a bigger economy with bigger players but ultimately politics are local and in a global marketplace the consequences of haphazard land reform program will have tremendous impact on the country and continent in more ways that we can imagine right now. South Africa has a large youth population but their government has not grasped the need for education and job creation in both the Mandela, Mbeki and now Zuma administrations. South Africa’s leaders should have constructed more school and created more wealth empowerment programs that would create jobs for ordinary citizens.”

Kenya and North Africa have the same land problems which will trigger conflicts for a long time to come as long as Social Justice and Equity is not applied to pre-empt social conflicts, if not civil wars in the long run as the population will grow much larger and faster. It must be borne in mind that for the African, whose livelihood is based on Agriculture for survival, land is the fundamental backbone of all sustainable livelihoods as it is always the cause of conflict and war.

This is where Professor Chinweizu might find some fodder for his theory on the empowering of Black people in their motherlands. Even though Lang T.K.A. Nubuor (2013) does not buy the proposals of Professor Chinweizu on what Renaissance Africanism should be it is still necessary to listen to the alarm he raises when he asserts that:

‘That is a fine sentiment, but premature, since we are still losing land to the Arabs. The job we should undertake now is to stop any further Arab expropriation of our lands. When we stop losing more land to the Arab expansionists, and have recovered our entire continent, that would be time enough to drop the term Black Africa. For, by then, all of Africa would once again be co-extensive with Black Africa, making the qualifier superfluous. Until then, let the qualifier keep reminding us that we have a duty to recover the parts of our land seized by Arab and European invaders. (All underlined words are added). Having asserted that the ‘tribe’ is the only entity that qualifies for the ‘nation’ designation, Prof. Chinweizu finds no common referent on which to hang his Pan-Africanism other than the colour of the Black African skin – raciality. He employs a concept of ‘racial privacy’ which he likens to the practice of excluding even best friends from family meetings. This principle enables him to restrict his Pan-Africanism to the ‘United States of Black Africa’ rather than the ‘United States of Africa’. According to him the latter also includes Arabs – an anathema. The interesting thing is that while he rejects the existence of Arab Africans and asserts that of Black Africans he does not name the other Africans. And yet he states that the ‘African continent is no longer racially homogeneous’. It is now like the USA, so to say. Prof. Chinweizu sees only Arab and European invaders (temporary residents) living together with Black Africans, though separately, on the African continent. So that by his refusal to acknowledge Arabs in Africa as Arab Africans and Europeans and Indians as Boers or Afrikaners (Dutch Africans) and Indian Africans respectively, he actually sees no racial heterogeneity. He therefore renders the black in ‘Black Africans’ superfluous. And this yet, this is not his intention. The assertion of racial heterogeneity and racial exclusivity becomes a contradiction in terms. If we are to take him to be serious then European invaders of America cannot be considered as Americans. Certainly, his criterion for the designation of an African is too crises-ridden to be of

utility for Pan-Africanism. It even leaves out the Berber who has lived in North Africa for millennia and mentioned in historical records dating to 3000 B.C.”

No matter what the arguments for original native lands are, and original raciality, we have to be careful not to fall back in the same crimes for which we reproach the Jews, Europeans, Americans and the Arabs. There is no way the Arab Settler Communities and the European Settler Communities in Africa would ever be ousted from Africa. They are by “Jus Soli” Africans with all rights and obligations. Africans cannot today rise up with Professor Chinweizu to say that the Nation of Africa must be homogeneously populated by Blacks and that Whites and Arabs be ousted. African Humanism has been developed through the African Philosophy of Non-Violence and the Interpenetration of Contraries (Dika Akwa Nya Bonnambella, 1984), as proposed by the founders of Pan-Africanism. Africa is the Cradle of Humanity and will fulfil its destiny by rehabilitating Humanity of its physical and symbolic wounds, to create a more Victorious Humanity in the Revolutionary Pan-African and African Renaissance.

We cannot afford to create in Africa another Zionist exclusivist State or another exclusivist Arabic-Palestinian State that want to claim the Promised Land and Jerusalem exclusively for themselves; nor do we want to start erecting the kind of racist separatist walls like the Israelis are erecting today in Israel, or as it is done on the Texan borders with Mexico, or the walls along the Spanish border Morocco; or create the U.S.A. “Terrorist” ethnic-cleansing Prisons of Guantanamo Bay of Cuba; or engage in the kind of ethnic-political-religious-cleansing wars in Irak, Afghanistan and Syria; or the ruthless racist Drone Wars of Yemen, Pakistan and Afghanistan; which are not different from the French racist Atom Bomb test in the African Sahara in 1954, the French racist Atom Bomb and Neutron Bomb tests in the seas of New Caledonia and French Pacific Islands; or what Hugo Chavez alleged as the U.S. racist bomb-test-earthquake of Haiti, or the popularly alleged Israeli racist Neutron Bomb (Ngwa Azibo, 2013) test of Lake Nyos in 1996 when the Super-Powers after creating their new weapons of mass destruction, and could not dare test them in the own countries.

If all these allegations could be proven true then we would with Bob Marley advocate that they should be brought to the book and to pay for their crimes against humanity. For the old Western saying of robbing Peter to pay Paul is very pertinent in the neo-liberalist Western Capitalism which only caters for the interest of the corporate few for their survival and control of the Universe beyond Mars, Jupiter and the Moon. And one would ask where is

GOD in all these crimes against humanity and the scientific pursuit to invent more weapons of mass destruction and ethnic cleansing instead of accommodating all races and making the world a better place as Michael Jackson advocates in his songs of non-violence for the creation of the humanistic spirit of reconciliation, interpenetration and miscegenation of the Human Race.

This is where the analysis and conclusion of Lang T.K.A. Nubuor (2013) against the racialisation of Pan-Africanism is timely and quite handy for the tracing of the New Wave of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism of African Renaissance for the youths of tomorrow:

‘The ‘African Nation’ is forced out of existence in such calculations which ensure that African countries freeze in pigeon-holes. But this is exactly what Dr. Nkrumah stands against when he states emphatically in Africa Must Unite that: ‘If we are to remain free, if we are to enjoy the full benefits of Africa’s rich resources, we must unite to plan for our total defence and the full exploitation of our material and human means, in the full interests of all our peoples. ‘To go it alone’ will limit our horizons, curtail our expectations, and threaten our liberty. The politics of defining or determining the existence or otherwise of the ‘African Nation’ is generated just by this parochial anti-people desire for perpetual neo-colonial existence. Prof. Mburumba Kerina renders Dr. Nkrumah’s famous declaration better and correctly when he says that ‘On the independence day of Ghana, President Nkrumah declared that: “The destiny of Ghana is bound up with the destiny of Africa”.’ See page 27. When Dr. Nujoma announces Africa to be now politically independent and declares a second phase of the struggle as one for genuine economic independence in his keynote address he also commits himself to culturalism in his lecture in Ghana where he makes it clear that: “In my humble ways, I always encourage and promote African cultures and ways of living thus ensuring the empowerment of the youth of Africa to spearhead the ideology of Pan-Africanism from where the Founding Pan-African leaders left. Armed with the knowledge of our past, we can with confidence charter a course for our future.” Clearly, his political horizons are limited to the unviable neo-colonial state. This reflects in and underscores the overwhelming majority of the papers at the Workshop which he kick-starts in Windhoek in the neo-colonial enclave of Namibia and which suppresses the expression of unrelenting Revolutionary Pan-Africanism. The youth’s communiqué protests against this suppression; while in paper 14 ‘The African Condition as I See It’ which is replete with references to the Africa Nation, Job Shipululo Kanandjembo Amupanda humbly submits that: “I am afraid that Africa’s history of exploitation is the history of today, dear friends. We are yet to emancipate ourselves... The liberating generation, of the 1960s ... led people-driven economies and delivered free education and many other basic

amenities. They had no idea that they would be either toppled by their own people who were intoxicated by the enemy (Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, et al) or that those succeeding them would put Africa on auction to the very same people against whom many had died fighting.” This is the Spirit of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism exploding. It finds its way in expression in a sea of counter-spirits of reaction.”

We are reminded of the Revolutionary Pan-Africanism defined by Kwame Nkrumah as the fight against capitalism and neo-colonialism in Africa, in the Diaspora and the world at large. I would like to differ with Lang T.K.A. Nubuor (2013) who claims that Pan-Africanism is not an Ideology but a Programme. Actually, with the definition of Ideology as the World View of a people, based on their ontological experience which make up their collective historiography as they tend to project it for their the affirmation of their identity, their way of life and their pattern of production: cultural, social and economical. The Programme of all Ideology is the Road-Map that defines the reproductive forces, as defined by Amilcar Cabral, of a people destined for their self-determination and freedom.

This means that Pan-Africanism as a Human endeavour is that Scientific Socialism, as Lang T.K.A. Nubuor admits, that will continue to exist as long as there are humans and as long as injustices and hatred and the exploitation of humans by other humans would prevail in the world.

And even when the injustices of senile capitalism and neo-colonialism and all forms of deprivations would be defeated, the flower of Pan-Africanism which is Peace and Non-Violence and the Interpenetration of Contraries would bloom, as Kwame Nkrumah affirms in his Non-Racial Cross-Cultural Philosophy of Consciencism, which embraces the contributions of Judeo-Christianity, Arab-Islam and African Religions and Cultures as a common Human Heritage for Africa and the world.

Lang T.K.A. Nubuor (2013) gives an elaborate contribution of Kwame Nkrumah’s Revolutionary Pan-Africanism which I will quote elaborately:

*“Revolutionary Pan-Africanism does not see that ‘Pan-Africanism never dies’. It views Pan-Africanism as a programme but not as an ideology. As a programme, Pan-Africanism, by Dr. Nkrumah’s terms in *The Conakry Years*, has a life span which terminates with the achievement of the total liberation and unification of the African continent and i its people wherever they might be under a socialist People’s Republican State of Africa. And as a programme it is a movement. It is not an ideology by itself but a programme of an ideology. That ideology is scientific socialism. Dr. Sam Nujoma’s reference to ‘the ideology of Pan-Africanism’ in his two presentations in this*

respect becomes problematic. It does not only create problems for a consistent conceptualization of the processes of the history of Pan-Africanism. It as well contradicts the world view of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism. In the construction of the history of Pan-Africanism we are minded to trace its trajectory as a resistance to capitalism from the moment the first African is captured and transformed into a slave. This resistance begins from the point of entry into the slave ship through the journey over the Atlantic to the plantations of the West. It then finds expression in rebellions on the plantations through efforts to create a Black Republic on foreign soil alongside seeking the rights of citizenship to the establishment of the socialist liberation and unification of Africa as the prime condition for the freedom and restoration of the dignity of the African wherever they might be. The contradictions internal to this resistance throw up different currents inspired by the class differentiation within the Black community. Such differentiation finds expression in racist and cross-racist concepts of strategy with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah emerging as the foremost theoretician and practitioner of the latter current. Emerging as Revolutionary Pan-Africanism that current fundamentally expresses itself in class terms as against the theoretical practice of the other currents. Through thick and thin it seeks the institutional replacement of capitalism and its imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist ancillaries through ultimate confrontation by way of revolutionary guerrilla warfare. In this respect, the other currents, expressing themselves in culturalistic and economic terms, stand opposed to Revolutionary Pan-Africanism. This trajectory of the history of Pan-Africanism reflects the objective process of anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist resistance to capitalism and its ancillaries for the freedom of the African. That conception of Pan-African history gives the compradorial bourgeoisie in Africa no rest. It embarrasses them. To combat it they organize workshops like the one at hand to distort reality with the African youth as their target. In spite of this and to their chagrin, that history recognizes the pre-eminence of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in the Pan-African struggle and erects his statue in the forecourt of the headquarters of the African Union – a statue that while it towers over the landscape of Ethiopia from Addis Ababa and overlooks the large expanse of the African continent with hope and confidence also symbolizes the triumph of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's policy of non-racial internationalism, an important cornerstone of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism."

To conclude this chapter I find that Pan-Africanism in the 21st Century faces the greatest challenges on how to bring its fundamental objectives of Revolutionary Pan-Africanism to catch up with the youths of Africa today. The youths being the present day and future retainers and managers of the relay baton for African development, it is obvious, from my experiences in

various parts of Africa, that they are cut off from the original history of Pan-Africanism.

This is because the present day leaders do not see the need to promote Pan-Africanism as a liberating Ideology and an entrepreneurial Ideology and Programme for African Sustainable Development and fight against senile and greedy capitalism, neo-colonialism and class stratification that breeds poverty in all its degrading and dehumanising dimensions. Instead of promoting Revolutionary Pan-Africanism the way Kwame Nkrumah proposed it, African leaders have devastated, and are still fighting to whittle down Pan-Africanism to their private agendas.

That is how it becomes suspicious that, even though we cannot predict who would come up with a master plan of action and a framework for Africa's way forward for Development in the 21st Century, some African leaders are interested only in their personal interests. These are those African leaders who have tailored Pan-Africanism to suit just their selfish strait jackets of rendering their people poor and exploiting them to suit just their personal ambitions.

That is how one comes a long way to ask how is it that President Thabo Mbeki, President Olusegun Obasanjo, President Wade, President Bouteflika, arrogated to themselves the initiation of what they called the New Partnership for Africa's Development – NEPAD, without including those that mattered in Africa and all Africa?

President Gadhafi declared that he realised that Olusegun Obasanjo and Thabo Mbeki were trying to use the African Union and the NEPAD they created just to boost their personal interests with that of their Western proctors, instead of the common African interests. That is why they developed cold feet when President Gadhafi proposed the creation of an African Monetary Fund, an African Army for a strong defence system and Security system, an African Infrastructure and Common Market development.

And when Thabo Mbeki settled in for what he called the African Renaissance it turned out to be just another self-conceited limited African Renaissance that was programmed to suit his personal ambitions without a wide coverage to embrace the entire Africa. The truth is that we do not have antennas of Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance in other parts of Africa, except may be in the SADC states. If Thabo Mbeki's African Renaissance was genuine why did he refuse to support Kadhafi's broader based African project. Even if it is true that Muammar Gaddafi wanted to project his self-aggrandisement, was the project was going to live for Africa or for Gadhafi. When President George Bush attacked Iraq was he not doing so for his self-aggrandisement and that that of America? When President Barak Hussein

Obama kills Pakistanis, Yemenis and Afghans with drones, or closes his ears to the allegations of Hugo Chavez about the Haiti bomb-test earth quake, is he not doing so for his self-aggrandisement?

The African Renaissance of Thabo Mbeki did not go far enough in defining the problem of citizenship of Africa beyond his limited pigeon-hole Rainbow Nation which became hyper xenophobic to other Africans from other pigeon-hole Nation-States.

There were these shortcomings that prompted the initiative of Douglas Kachi Terwase and Fongot Kini-Yen Kinni (2006) to work with the Civil Society to launch the pressure group for Africans Across Borders – AFROBORDIANS, an International NGO for developing a Common African Citizenship whose main objective is:

“...To work at the grass roots so sensitise Africans, the children and the youths especially, the elite, business managers and service providers, and the entire African people and their friends living in Africa and the Diaspora, to promote and enhance the realisation of the Common African Citizenship and Identity among Africans of all backgrounds and origins. AFROBORDIANS are linked up by one umbilical cord that feeds its members – the three “A-s” – Africanity, Afritudinity and Africaness – which serve as their term of reference...Mindful of the fact that the dream of African Unity as launched by Kwame Nkrumah in 1960-1963 and Muammar Kadhafi in 1999-2001 will be aborted, if left in the hands of just some selfish self-centred Heads of States of Africa; we of the civil societies of Africa believe that the only way to pre-empt this kind of catastrophe which befell the Organisation of African Unity for almost half a century, is to create a pro-active interest and pressure group to monitor and evaluate on an on-going basis, the activities of the newly born African union...The Organisation of African Unity – OAU – lived and died a natural death because of the way in which it conceived and managed from 1963 to 2001, more like an appendage of the neo-colonial system of the United Nations Organisation; and the promotion of the neo-colonial empire with the OAU’s Charter respecting the “intangibility of the frontiers inherited from the colonial boundaries”; under the UNO neo-colonial clause of “uti possedetis,” “Maintenance of the colonial boundaries status quo”...Now that the African Union – AU – has taken a more bolder renaissance step and awareness under the patronage of the lucid and undaunted African leader, Muammar Al Kadhafi, to call for the rethinking of the old failures and obstacles to African Unity; it is now our responsibility, as the civil society proctors, to rise up and unanimously to take our turn and responsibility, like all freedom and peace loving peoples and citizens of Africa; and take the challenge and the initiative to establish the CONSTITUTION OF THE LIBERTIES AND RIGHTS OF THE FREE CITIZENS OF AFRICA

ACROSS THE COLONIAL AND NEO-COLONIAL BORDERS established in Africa. This is because a free, peaceful and developed Africa shall be built only by devoted, committed, fearless and incorruptible Africans striving for integrity, in Africa, for Africans and Humanity, and never by non-committed outsiders.”

It becomes obvious that the task of the African Union for African Unity can be facilitated not just at the Head but also at the Bottom where the Civil Societies of Africa and the Diaspora must be included to play a vital role.

It must be understood that Pan Africanism started as a Civil Society venture. It was never a Heads of State forum as it has become today.

This means that the civil society in Africa and the Diaspora must be included to take the role to sensitise and train the youths of Africa and the Diaspora in their various home-grown habitats about the Pan-African ideology, programmed and history and its objectives from the cradle to adulthood. There should be regular celebrations for the Pan-African Identity and Citizenship promotion that will give the idea of belonging to Africans wherever they may find themselves and wherever they would like to travel to without restrictions.

Africans and Diaspora Africans must be trained to accept their common origin and common destiny, wherever they may find themselves. The new colomentalisation of African “Bush-Fallers” who are being indoctrinated to believe that African Americans and African Caribbean are “Lazy, Drug-Pushers, Criminals,” or the other way round where African Americans of African Caribbean are made to feel that they are superior to Continental Africans, must stop and Africans should learn to come together and work together for the good of Africa and Humanity.

And if the Revolutionary Pan-Africanism as proposed by Kwame Nkrumah must prevail, then it has to be initiated at the early ages, bringing together the children and the youths to think on how to build a more peaceful and healthier future by fighting senile capitalism, poverty and neo-colonialism; and it must be kept alive by constant reminder celebrations of its successes all over Africa and the Diaspora.

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Appendices

Annex 1

List of Chairpersons of the OAU

Chairpersons of the Organisation of African Unity			
Name	Beginning of Term	End of Term	Country
Haile Selassie I	25 May 1963	17 July 1964	 Ethiopia
Gamal Abdel Nasser	17 July 1964	21 October 1965	 Egypt
Kwame Nkrumah	21 October 1965	24 February 1966	 Ghana
Joseph Arthur Ankrah	24 February 1966	5 November 1966	 Ghana
Haile Selassie I	5 November 1966	11 September 1967	 Ethiopia
Joseph-Désiré Mobutu	11 September 1967	13 September 1968	 Congo (Kinshasa)
Houari Boumedienne	13 September 1968	6 September 1969	 Algeria
Ahmadou Ahidjo	6 September 1969	1 September 1970	 Cameroon
Kenneth Kaunda	1 September 1970	21 June 1971	 Zambia
Moktar Ould Daddah	21 June 1971	12 June 1972	 Mauritania
Hassan II	12 June 1972	27 May 1973	 Morocco
Yakubu Gowon	27 May 1973	12 June 1974	 Nigeria
Siad Barre	12 June 1974	28 July 1975	 Somalia
Idi Amin	28 July 1975	2 July 1976	 Uganda
Seewoosagur Ramgoolam	2 July 1976	2 July 1977	 Mauritius
Omar Bongo	2 July 1977	18 July 1978	 Gabon
Gaafar Nimeiry	18 July 1978	12 July 1979	 Sudan
William R. Tolbert, Jr.	12 July 1979	12 April 1980	 Liberia
Léopold Sédar Senghor (acting)	28 April 1980	1 July 1980	 Senegal
Siaka Stevens	1 July 1980	24 June 1981	 Sierra Leone

Daniel arap Moi	24 June 1981	6 June 1983	 Kenya
Mengistu Haile Mariam	6 June 1983	12 November 1984	 Ethiopia
Julius Nyerere	12 November 1984	18 July 1985	 Tanzania
Abdou Diouf	18 July 1985	28 July 1986	 Senegal
Denis Sassou-Nguesso	28 July 1986	27 July 1987	 Congo (Brazzaville)
Kenneth Kaunda	27 July 1987	25 May 1988	 Zambia
Moussa Traoré	25 May 1988	24 July 1989	 Mali
Hosni Mubarak	24 July 1989	9 July 1990	 Egypt
Yoweri Museveni	9 July 1990	3 June 1991	 Uganda
Ibrahim Babangida	3 June 1991	29 June 1992	 Nigeria
Abdou Diouf	29 June 1992	28 June 1993	 Senegal
Hosni Mubarak	28 June 1993	13 June 1994	 Egypt
Zine El Abidine Ben Ali	13 June 1994	26 June 1995	 Tunisia
Meles Zenawi	26 June 1995	8 July 1996	 Ethiopia
Paul Biya	8 July 1996	2 June 1997	 Cameroon
Robert Mugabe	2 June 1997	8 June 1998	 Zimbabwe
Blaise Compaoré	8 June 1998	12 July 1999	 Burkina Faso
Abdelaziz Bouteflika	12 July 1999	10 July 2000	 Algeria
Gnassingbé Eyadéma	10 July 2000	9 July 2001	 Togo
Frederick Chiluba	9 July 2001	2 January 2002	 Zambia
Levy Mwanawasa	2 January 2002	9 July 2002	 Zambia

Annex 2

List of Secretaries-General of OAU

Secretaries-general of the OAU ^[3]			
Name	Beginning of Term	End of Term	Country
<u>Kifle Wodajo</u> (acting)	25 May 1963	21 July 1964	 Ethiopia
<u>Diallo Telli</u>	21 July 1964	15 June 1972	 Guinea
<u>Nzo Ekangaki</u>	15 June 1972	16 June 1974	 Cameroon
<u>William Eteki</u>	16 June 1974	21 July 1978	 Cameroon
<u>Edem Kodjo</u>	21 July 1978	12 June 1983	 Togo
<u>Peter Onu</u>	12 June 1983	20 July 1985	 Nigeria

<u>Ide Oumarou</u>	20 July 1985	19 September 1989	 <u>Niger</u>
<u>Salim Ahmed Salim</u>	19 September 1989	17 September 2001	 <u>Tanzania</u>
<u>Amara Essy</u>	17 September 2001	9 July 2002	 <u>Côte d'Ivoire</u>

Annex 3

List of Chairpersons of the African Union

Chairpersons of the African Union			
Name	Beginning of term	End of term	Country
Thabo Mbeki	9 July 2002	10 July 2003	 South Africa
Joaquim Chissano	10 July 2003	6 July 2004	 Mozambique
Olusegun Obasanjo	6 July 2004	24 January 2006	 Nigeria
Denis Sassou-Nguesso	24 January 2006	24 January 2007	 Republic of the Congo
John Kufuor	30 January 2007	31 January 2008	 Ghana
Jakaya Kikwete	31 January 2008	2 February 2009	 Tanzania
Muammar al-Gaddafi	2 February 2009	31 January 2010	 Libya
Bingu wa Mutharika ^[65] ^[66]	31 January 2010	31 January 2011	 Malawi
Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo ^[67]	31 January 2011	Incumbent	 Equatorial Guinea

Annex 4

The Charter of the OAU

The Charter of the Organisation of African Unity – OAU – comprises a preamble and XXXII Articles, which delineate in very precise manner the objective and strategies of the organisation. These were presented in the following terms:

We, the Heads of African States and Governments assembled in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,

Convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny,

Conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples,

Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in all spheres of human endeavour,

Inspired by a common determination to promote understanding among our peoples and cooperation among our states in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brother-hood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences,

Convinced that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions for peace and security must be established and maintained,

Determined to safeguard and consolidate the hard-won independence as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our states, and to fight against neo-colonialism in all its forms,

Dedicated to the general progress of Africa,

Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to the Principles of which we reaffirm our adherence, provide a solid foundation for peaceful and positive cooperation among States,

Desirous that all African States should henceforth unite so that the welfare and wellbeing of their peoples can be assured,

Resolved to reinforce the links between our states by establishing and strengthening common institutions,

Have agreed to the present Charter.

Establishment

Article I

1. The High Contracting Parties do by the present Charter establish an Organization to be known as the ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY.

2. The Organization shall include the Continental African States, Madagascar and other Islands surrounding Africa.

Purposes

Article II

1. The Organization shall have the following purposes:

- (a) To promote the unity and solidarity of the African States;
- (b) To coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa;
- (c) To defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence;
- (d) To eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and
- (e) To promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

2. To these ends, the Member States shall coordinate and harmonize their general policies, especially in the following fields:

- (a) Political and diplomatic cooperation;
- (b) Economic cooperation, including transport and communications;
- (c) Educational and cultural cooperation;
- (d) Health, sanitation and nutritional cooperation;
- (e) Scientific and technical cooperation; and
- (f) Cooperation for defence and security.

Principles

Article III

The Member States, in pursuit of the purposes stated in Article II solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to the following principles:

1. The sovereign equality of all Member States.
2. Non-interference in the internal affairs of States.
3. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each State and for its inalienable right to independent existence.
4. Peaceful settlement of disputes by negotiation, mediation, conciliation or arbitration.
5. Unreserved condemnation, in all its forms, of political assassination as well as of subversive activities on the part of neighbouring States or any other States.
6. Absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent.
7. Affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all blocs.

Membership

Article IV

Each independent sovereign African State shall be entitled to become a Member of the Organization.

Rights And Duties Of Member States

Article V

All Member States shall enjoy equal rights and have equal duties.

Article VI

The Member States pledge themselves to observe scrupulously the principles enumerated in Article III of the present Charter.

Institutions

Article VII

The Organization shall accomplish its purposes through the following principal institutions:

1. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government.
2. The Council of Ministers.
3. The General Secretariat.
4. The Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.

The Assembly Of Heads Of State And Government

Article VIII

The Assembly of Heads of State and Government shall be the supreme organ of the Organization. It shall, subject to the provisions of this Charter, discuss matters of common concern to Africa with a view to coordinating and harmonizing the general policy of the Organization. It may in addition review the structure, functions and acts of all the organs and any specialized agencies which may be created in accordance with the present Charter.

Article IX

The Assembly shall be composed of the Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives and it shall meet at least once a year. At the request of any Member State and on approval by a two-thirds majority of the Member States, the Assembly shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article X

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.
2. All resolutions shall be determined by a two-thirds majority of the Members of the Organization.
3. Questions of procedure shall require a simple majority. Whether or not a question is one of procedure shall be determined by a simple majority of all Member States of the Organization.
4. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Organization shall form a quorum at any meeting of the Assembly.

Article XI

The Assembly shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

The Council of Ministers

Article XII

1. The Council of Ministers shall consist of Foreign Ministers or other

Ministers as are designated by the Governments of Member States.

2. The Council of Ministers shall meet at least twice a year. When requested by any Member State and approved by two-thirds of all Member States, it shall meet in extraordinary session.

Article XIII

1. The Council of Ministers shall be responsible to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall be entrusted with the responsibility of preparing conferences of the Assembly.

2. It shall take cognisance of any matter referred to it by the Assembly. It shall be entrusted with the implementation of the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. It shall coordinate inter-African cooperation in accordance with the instructions of the Assembly conformity with Article II (2) of the present Charter.

Article XIV

1. Each Member State shall have one vote.

2. All resolutions shall be determined by a simple majority of the members of the Council of Ministers.

3. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Council of Ministers shall form a quorum for any meeting of the Council.

Article XV

The Council shall have the power to determine its own rules of procedure.

General Secretariat

Article XVI

There shall be a Secretary-General of the Organization, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The Secretary-General shall direct the affairs of the Secretariat.

Article XVII

There shall be one or more Assistant Secretaries-General of the Organization, who shall be appointed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Article XVIII

The functions and conditions of service of the Secretary-General, of the Assistant Secretaries-General and other employees of the Secretariat shall be governed by the provisions of this Charter and the regulations approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each member of the Organization undertakes to respect the exclusive character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Commission Of Mediation, Conciliation And Arbitration

Article XIX

Member States pledge to settle all disputes among themselves by peaceful means and, to this end decide to establish a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration, the composition of which and conditions of service shall be defined by a separate Protocol to be approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Said Protocol shall be regarded as forming an integral part of the present Charter.

Specialized Commission

Article XX

The Assembly shall establish such Specialized Commissions as it may deem

necessary, including the following:

1. Economic and Social Commission.
2. Educational, Scientific, Cultural and Health Commission.
3. Defence Commission.

Article XXI

Each Specialized Commission referred to in Article XX shall be composed of the Ministers concerned or other Ministers or Plenipotentiaries designated by the Governments of the Member States.

Article XXII

The functions of the Specialized Commissions shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the present Charter and of the regulations approved by the Council of Ministers.

The Budget

Article XXIII

The budget of the Organization prepared by the Secretary-General shall be approved by the Council of Ministers. The budget shall be provided by contribution from Member States in accordance with the scale of assessment of the United Nations; provided, however, that no Member State shall be assessed an amount exceeding twenty percent of the yearly regular budget of the Organization. The Member States agree to pay their respective contributions regularly.

Signature And Ratification Of Charter

Article XXIV

1. This Charter shall be open for signature to all independent sovereign African

States and shall be ratified by the signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The original instrument, done, if possible in African languages, in English and French, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia which shall transmit certified copies thereof to all independent sovereign African States.

3. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of Ethiopia, which shall notify all signatories of each such deposit.

Entry Into Force

Article XXV

This Charter shall enter into force immediately upon receipt by the Government of Ethiopia of the instruments of ratification from two-thirds of the signatory States.

Registration Of Charter

Article XXVI

This Charter shall, after due ratification, be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the Government of Ethiopia in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Interpretation Of The Charter

Article XXVII

Any question which may arise concerning the interpretation of this Charter shall be decided by a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization.

Adhesion And Accession

Article XXVIII

1. Any independent sovereign African State may at any time notify the Secretary-General of its intention to adhere or accede to this Charter.
2. The Secretary-General shall, on receipt of such notification, communicate a copy of it to all the Member States. Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of the Member States. The decision of each Member State shall be transmitted to the Secretary-General, who shall, upon receipt of the required number of votes, communicate the decision to the State concerned.

Miscellaneous

Article XXIX

The working languages of the Organization and all its institutions shall be, if possible African languages, English and French, Arabic and Portuguese.

Article XXX

The Secretary-General may accept, on behalf of the Organization, gifts, bequests and other donations made to the Organization, provided that this is approved by the Council of Ministers.

Article XXXI

The Council of Ministers shall decide on the privileges and immunities to be accorded to the personnel of the Secretariat in the respective territories of the Member States.

Cessation Of Membership

Article XXXI

Any State which desires to renounce its membership shall forward a written notification to the Secretary-General. At the end of one year from the date of such notification, if not withdrawn, the Charter shall cease to apply with respect to the renouncing State, which shall thereby cease to belong to the Organization.

Amendment Of The Charter

Article XXXII

This Charter may be amended or revised if any Member State makes a written request to the Secretary-General to that effect; provided, however, that the proposed amendment is not submitted to the Assembly for consideration until all the Member States have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has elapsed. Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two thirds of all the Member States.

IN FAITH WHEREOF, We, the Heads of African States and Governments have signed this Charter.

Done in the City of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia,
25th day of May, 1963

Annex 5

Constitutive Act of the African Union

We, Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity (OAU):

The President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
The President of the Republic of Angola
The President of the Republic of Benin
The President of the Republic of Botswana
The President of Burkina Faso
The President of the Republic of Burundi
The President of the Republic of Cameroon
The President of the Republic of Cape Verde
The President of the Central African Republic
The President of the Republic of Chad
The President of the Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros
The President of the Republic of the Congo
The President of the Republic of Cote d'Ivoire
The President of the Democratic Republic of Congo
The President of the Republic of Djibouti
The President of the Arab Republic of Egypt
The President of the State of Eritrea
The Prime Minister of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
The President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea
The President of the Gabonese Republic
The President of the Republic of The Gambia
The President of the Republic of Ghana
The President of the Republic of Guinea
The President of the Republic of Guinea Bissau
The President of the Republic of Kenya
The Prime Minister of Lesotho
The President of the Republic of Liberia
The Leader of the 1st of September Revolution of the Great Socialist
People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
The President of the Republic of Madagascar
The President of the Republic of Malawi
The President of the Republic of Mali

The President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania
The Prime Minister of the Republic of Mauritius
The President of the Republic of Mozambique
The President of the Republic of Namibia
The President of the Republic of Niger
The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
The President of the Republic of Rwanda
The President of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
The President of the Republic of Sao Tome and Principe
The President of the Republic of Senegal
The President of the Republic of Seychelles
The President of the Republic of Sierra Leone
The President of the Republic of Somalia
The President of the Republic of South Africa
The President of the Republic of Sudan
The King of Swaziland
The President of the United Republic of Tanzania
The President of the Togolese Republic
The President of the Republic of Tunisia
The President of the Republic of Uganda
The President of the Republic of Zambia
The President of the Republic of Zimbabwe

Inspired by the noble ideals which guided the founding fathers of our Continental Organization and generations of Pan-Africanists in their determination to promote unity, solidarity, cohesion and cooperation among the peoples of Africa and African States;

Considering the principles and objectives stated in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community;

Recalling the heroic struggles waged by our peoples and our countries for political independence, human dignity and economic emancipation;

Considering that since its inception, the Organization of African Unity has played a determining and invaluable role in the liberation of the continent, the affirmation of a common identity and the process of attainment of the unity of our Continent and has provided a unique framework for our collective action in Africa and in our relations with the rest of the world;

Determined to take up the multifaceted challenges that confront our continent and peoples in the light of the social, economic and political changes taking place in the world;

Convinced of the need to accelerate the process of implementing the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community in order to promote the socio-economic development of Africa and to face more effectively the challenges posed by globalization;

Guided by our common vision of a united and strong Africa and by the need to build a partnership between governments and all segments of civil society, in particular women, youth and the private sector in order to strengthen solidarity and cohesion among our peoples;

Conscious of the fact that the scourge of conflicts in Africa constitutes a major impediment to the socio-economic development of the continent and of the need to promote peace, security and stability as a prerequisite for the implementation of our development and integration agenda;

Determined to promote and protect human and peoples' rights, consolidate democratic institutions and culture, and to ensure good governance and the rule of law;

Further Determined to take all necessary measures to strengthen our common institutions and provide them with the necessary powers and resources to enable them discharge their respective mandates effectively;

Recalling the Declaration which we adopted at the Fourth Extraordinary Session of our Assembly in Sirte, the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, on 9.9. 99, in which we decided to establish an African Union, in conformity with the ultimate objectives of the Charter of our Continental Organization and the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community;

Have Agreed As Follows:

Article 1

Definitions

In this Constitutive Act:

“Act” means the present Constitutive Act;

“AEC” means the African Economic Community;

“Assembly” means the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Union;

“Charter” means the Charter of the OAU;

“Committee” means a Specialized Technical Committee of the Union;

“Council” means the Economic, Social and Cultural Council of the Union;
“Court “ means the Court of Justice of the Union;
“Executive Council” means the Executive Council of Ministers of the Union;
“Member State” means a Member State of the Union;
“OAU” means the Organization of African Unity;
“Parliament” means the Pan-African Parliament of the Union;
“Union” means the African Union established by the present Constitutive Act.

Article 2

Establishment

The African Union is hereby established in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

Article 3

Objectives

The objectives of the Union shall be to:

Achieve greater unity and solidarity between the African countries and the peoples of Africa;

Defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of its Member States;

Accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent;

Promote and defend African common positions on issues of interest to the continent and its peoples;

Encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

Promote peace, security, and stability on the continent;

Promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance;

Promote and protect human and peoples’ rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights and other relevant human rights instruments;

Establish the necessary conditions which enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations;

Promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as well as the integration of African economies;

Promote cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African peoples;

Coordinate and harmonize policies between existing and future Regional Economic Communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the Union;

Advance the development of the continent by promoting research in all fields, in particular in science and technology;

Work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

Article 4

Principles

The Union shall function in accordance with the following principles:

Sovereign equality and interdependence among Member States of the Union;

Respect of borders existing on achievement of independence;

Participation of the African peoples in the activities of the Union;

Establishment of a common defence policy for the African Continent;

Peaceful resolution of conflicts among Member States of the Union through such appropriate means as may be decided upon by the Assembly;

Prohibition of the use of force or threat to use force among Member States of the Union;

Non-interference by any Member State in the internal affairs of another;

The right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity;

Peaceful co-existence of Member States and their right to live in peace and security;

The right of Member States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security;

Promotion of self-reliance within the framework of the Union;

Promotion of gender equality;

Respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance;

Promotion of social justice to ensure balanced economic development;

Respect for the sanctity of human life, condemnation and rejection of impunity and political assassination, acts of terrorism and subversive activities;
Condemnation and rejection of unconstitutional changes of governments.

Article 5

Organs of the Union

1. The organs of the Union shall be:
The Assembly of the Union;
The Executive Council;
The Pan-African Parliament;
The Court of Justice;
The Commission;
The Permanent Representatives Committee;
The Specialized Technical Committees;
The Economic, Social and Cultural Council;
The Financial Institutions;
2. Other organs that the Assembly may decide to establish.

Article 6

The Assembly

1. The Assembly shall be composed of Heads of States and Government or their duly accredited representatives.
2. The Assembly shall be the supreme organ of the Union.
3. The Assembly shall meet at least once a year in ordinary session. At the request of any Member State and on approval by a two-thirds majority of the Member States, the Assembly shall meet in extraordinary session.
4. The Office of the Chairman of the Assembly shall be held for a period of one year by a Head of State or Government elected after consultations among the Member States.

Article 7

Decisions of the Assembly

1. The Assembly shall take its decisions by consensus or, failing which, by a two-thirds majority of the Member States of the Union. However, procedural matters, including the question of whether a matter is one of procedure or not, shall be decided by a simple majority.

2. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Union shall form a quorum at any meeting of the Assembly.

Article 8

Rules of Procedure of the Assembly

The Assembly shall adopt its own Rules of Procedure.

Article 9

Powers and Functions of the Assembly

1. The functions of the Assembly shall be to:
 - Determine the common policies of the Union;
 - Receive, consider and take decisions on reports and recommendations from the other organs of the Union;
 - Consider requests for Membership of the Union;
 - Establish any organ of the Union;
 - Monitor the implementation of policies and decisions of the Union as well as ensure compliance by all Member States;
 - Adopt the budget of the Union;
 - Give directives to the Executive Council on the management of conflicts, war and other emergency situations and the restoration of peace;
 - Appoint and terminate the appointment of the judges of the Court of Justice;
 - Appoint the Chairman of the Commission and his or her deputy or deputies and Commissioners of the Commission and determine their functions and terms of office.
2. The Assembly may delegate any of its powers and functions to any organ of the Union.

Article 10

The Executive Council

1. The Executive Council shall be composed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs or such other Ministers or Authorities as are designated by the Governments of Member States.
2. Council shall meet at least twice a year in ordinary session. It shall also meet in an extra-ordinary session at the request of any Member State and upon approval by two-thirds of all Member States.

Article 11

Decisions of the Executive Council

1. The Executive Council shall take its decisions by consensus or, failing which, by a two-thirds majority of the Member States. However, procedural matters, including the question of whether a matter is one of procedure or not, shall be decided by a simple majority.

2. Two-thirds of the total membership of the Union shall form a quorum at any meeting of the Executive Council.

Article 12

Rules of Procedure of the Executive Council

The Executive Council shall adopt its own Rules of Procedure.

Article 13

Functions of the Executive Council

1. The Executive Council shall co-ordinate and take decisions on policies in areas of common interest to the Member States, including the following:

Foreign trade;

Energy, industry and mineral resources;

Food, agricultural and animal resources, livestock production and forestry;

Water resources and irrigation;

Environmental protection, humanitarian action and disaster response and relief;

Transport and communications;

Insurance;

Education, culture, health and human resources development;

Science and technology;

Nationality, residency and immigration matters;

Social security, including the formulation of mother and child care policies, as well as policies relating to the disabled and the handicapped;

Establishment of a system of African awards, medals and prizes.

2. The Executive Council shall be responsible to the Assembly. It shall consider issues referred to it and monitor the implementation of policies formulated by the Assembly.

3. The Executive Council may delegate any of its powers and functions mentioned in paragraph 1 of this Article to the Specialized Technical Committees established under Article 14 of this Act.

Article 14

The Specialized Technical Committees Establishment and Composition

1. There is hereby established the following Specialized Technical Committees, which shall be responsible to the Executive Council:

The Committee on Rural Economy and Agricultural Matters;

The Committee on Monetary and Financial Affairs;

The Committee on Trade, Customs and Immigration Matters;

The Committee on Industry, Science and Technology, Energy, Natural Resources and Environment;

The Committee on Transport, Communications and Tourism;

The Committee on Health, Labour and Social Affairs; and

The Committee on Education, Culture and Human Resources.

2. The Assembly shall, whenever it deems appropriate, restructure the existing Committees or establish other Committees.

3. The Specialized Technical Committees shall be composed of Ministers or senior officials responsible for sectors falling within their respective areas of competence.

Article 15

Functions of the Specialized Technical Committees

Each Committee shall within its field of competence:

Prepare projects and programmes of the Union and submit in to the Executive Council;

Ensure the supervision, follow-up and the evaluation of the implementation of decisions taken by the organs of the Union;

Ensure the coordination and harmonization of projects and programmes of the Union;

Submit to the Executive Council either on its own initiative or at the request of the Executive Council, reports and recommendations on the implementation of the provision of this Act; and

Carry out any other functions assigned to it for the purpose of ensuring the implementation of the provisions of this Act.

Article 16

Meetings

1. Subject to any directives given by the Executive Council, each Committee shall meet as often as necessary and shall prepare its rules of procedure and submit them to the Executive Council for approval.

Article 17

The Pan-African Parliament

1. In order to ensure the full participation of African peoples in the development and economic integration of the continent, a Pan-African Parliament shall be established.

2. The composition, powers, functions and organization of the Pan-African Parliament shall be defined in a protocol relating thereto.

Article 18

The Court of Justice

1. A Court of Justice of the Union shall be established;

2. The statute, composition and functions of the Court of Justice shall be defined in a protocol relating thereto.

Article 19

The Financial Institutions

The Union shall have the following financial institutions, whose rules and regulations shall be defined in protocols relating thereto:

The African Central Bank;

The African Monetary Fund;

The African Investment Bank.

Article 20

The Commission

1. There shall be established a Commission of the Union, which shall be the Secretariat of the Union.

2. The Commission shall be composed of the Chairman, his or her deputy or deputies and the Commissioners. They shall be assisted by the necessary staff for the smooth functioning of the Commission.

3. The structure, functions and regulations of the Commission shall be determined by the Assembly.

Article 21

The Permanent Representatives Committee

1. There shall be established a Permanent Representatives Committee. It shall be composed of Permanent Representatives to the Union and other Plenipotentiaries of Member States.

2. The Permanent Representatives Committee shall be charged with the responsibility of preparing the work of the Executive Council and acting on the Executive Council's instructions. It may set up such sub-committees or working groups as it may deem necessary.

Article 22

The Economic, Social and Cultural Council

1. The Economic, Social and Cultural Council shall be an advisory organ composed of different social and professional groups of the Member States of the Union.

2. The functions, powers, composition and organization of the Economic, Social and Cultural Council shall be determined by the Assembly.

Article 23

Imposition of Sanctions

1. The Assembly shall determine the appropriate sanctions to be imposed on any Member State that defaults in the payment of its contributions to the budget of the Union in the following manner: denial of the right to speak at meetings, to vote, to present candidates for any position or post within the Union or to benefit from any activity or commitments therefrom.

2. Furthermore, any Member State that fails to comply with the decisions and policies of the Union may be subjected to other sanctions, such as the denial of transport and communications links with other Member States, and other measures of a political and economic nature to be determined by the Assembly.

Article 24

The Headquarters of the Union

1. The Headquarters of the Union shall be in Addis Ababa in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

2. There may be established such other offices of the Union as the Assembly may, on the recommendation of the Executive Council, determine.

Article 25

Working Languages

The working languages of the Union and all its institutions shall be, if possible, African languages, Arabic, English, French and Portuguese.

Article 26

Interpretation

The Court shall be seized with matters of interpretation arising from the application or implementation of this Act. Pending its establishment, such matters shall be submitted to the Assembly of the Union, which shall decide by a two-thirds majority.

Article 27

Signature, Ratification and Accession

1. This Act shall be open to signature, ratification and accession by the Member States of the OAU in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures.

2. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the OAU.

3. Any Member State of the OAU acceding to this Act after its entry into force shall deposit the instrument of accession with the Chairman of the Commission.

Article 28

Entry into Force

This Act shall enter into force thirty (30) days after the deposit of the instruments of ratification by two-thirds of the Member States of the OAU.

Article 29

Admission to Membership

1. Any African State may, at any time after the entry into force of this Act, notify the Chairman of the Commission of its intention to accede to this Act and to be admitted as a member of the Union.

2. The Chairman of the Commission shall, upon receipt of such notification, transmit copies thereof to all Member States. Admission shall be decided by a simple majority of the Member States. The decision of each Member State shall be transmitted to the Chairman of the Commission who shall, upon receipt of the required number of votes, communicate the decision to the State concerned.

Article 30

Suspension

Governments which shall come to power through unconstitutional means shall not be allowed to participate in the activities of the Union.

Article 31

Cessation of Membership

1. Any State which desires to renounce its membership shall forward a written notification to the Chairman of the Commission, who shall inform Member States thereof. At the end of one year from the date of such notification, if not withdrawn, the Act shall cease to apply with respect to the renouncing State, which shall thereby cease to belong to the Union.

2. During the period of one year referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article, any Member State wishing to withdraw from the Union shall comply with the provisions of this Act and shall be bound to discharge its obligations under this Act up to the date of its withdrawal.

Article 32

Amendment and Revision

1. Any Member State may submit proposals for the amendment or revision of this Act.

2. Proposals for amendment or revision shall be submitted to the Chairman of the Commission who shall transmit same to Member States within thirty (30) days of receipt thereof.

3. The Assembly, upon the advice of the Executive Council, shall examine these proposals within a period of one year following notification of Member States, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of this Article.

4. Amendments or revisions shall be adopted by the Assembly by consensus or, failing which, by a two-thirds majority and submitted for ratification by all Member States in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures. They shall enter into force thirty (30) days after the deposit of the instruments of ratification with the Chairman of the Commission by a two-thirds majority of the Member States.

Article 33

Transitional Arrangements and Final Provisions

1. This Act shall replace the Charter of the Organization of African Unity. However, the Charter shall remain operative for a transitional period of one year or such further period as may be determined by the Assembly, following the entry into force of the Act, for the purpose of enabling the OAU/AEC to undertake the necessary measures regarding the devolution of its assets and liabilities to the Union and all matters relating thereto.

2. The provisions of this Act shall take precedence over and supersede any inconsistent or contrary provisions of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community.

3. Upon the entry into force of this Act, all necessary measures shall be undertaken to implement its provisions and to ensure the establishment of the organs provided for under the Act in accordance with any directives or decisions which may be adopted in this regard by the Parties thereto within the transitional period stipulated above.

4. Pending the establishment of the Commission, the OAU General Secretariat shall be the interim Secretariat of the Union.

5. This Act, drawn up in four (4) original texts in the Arabic, English, French and Portuguese languages, all four (4) being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the OAU and, after its entry into force, with the Chairman of the Commission who shall transmit a certified true copy of the Act to the Government of each signatory State. The Secretary-General of the OAU and the Chairman of the Commission shall notify all signatory States of the dates of the deposit of the instruments of

ratification or accession and shall upon entry into force of this Act register the same with the Secretariat of the United Nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, WE have adopted this Act.

Done at Lomé, Togo, this 11th day of July, 2000.

Annex 6

African (Banjul) Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Adopted 27 June 1981, OAU Doc. CAB/LEG/67/3 rev. 5, 21 I.L.M. 58 (1982), entered into force 21 October 1986)

Preamble

The African States members of the Organization of African Unity, parties to the present convention entitled "African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights,"

Recalling Decision 115 (XVI) of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Sixteenth Ordinary Session held in Monrovia, Liberia, from 17 to 20 July 1979 on the preparation of a "preliminary draft on an African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights providing inter alia for the establishment of bodies to promote and protect human and peoples' rights";

Considering the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, which stipulates that "freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples";

Reaffirming the pledge they solemnly made in Article 2 of the said Charter to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa, to coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa and to promote international cooperation having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations. and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

Taking into consideration the virtues of their historical tradition and the values of African civilization which should inspire and characterize their reflection on the concept of human and peoples' rights;

Recognizing on the one hand, that fundamental human rights stem from the attributes of human beings which justifies their national and international protection and on the other hand that the reality and respect of people's rights should necessarily guarantee human rights;

Considering that the enjoyment of rights and freedoms also implies the performance of duties on the part of everyone; Convinced that it is henceforth essential to pay a particular attention to the right to development and that civil and political rights cannot be dissociated from economic, social and cultural rights in their conception as well as universality and that the satisfaction of economic, social and cultural rights is a guarantee for the enjoyment of civil and political rights;

Conscious of their duty to achieve the total liberation of Africa, the peoples of which are still struggling for their dignity and genuine independence, and undertaking to eliminate colonialism, neo-colonialism, apartheid, Zionism and to dismantle aggressive foreign military bases and all forms of discrimination, particularly those based on race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion or political opinions;

Reaffirming their adherence to the principles of human and peoples' rights and freedoms contained in the declarations, conventions and other instrument adopted by the Organization of African Unity, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the United Nations;

Firmly convinced of their duty to promote and protect human and people' rights and freedoms taking into account the importance traditionally attached to these rights and freedoms in Africa;

Have agreed as follows:

Part I: Rights and Duties

Chapter I: Human and Peoples' Right

Article 1

The Member States of the Organization of African Unity parties to the present Charter shall recognize the rights, duties and freedoms enshrined in this Chapter and shall undertake to adopt legislative or other measures to give effect to them.

Article 2

Every individual shall be entitled to the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed in the present Charter without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status.

Article 3

1. Every individual shall be equal before the law.
2. Every individual shall be entitled to equal protection of the law.

Article 4

Human beings are inviolable. Every human being shall be entitled to respect for his life and the integrity of his person. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of this right.

Article 5

Every individual shall have the right to the respect of the dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition of his legal status. All forms of exploitation and degradation of man particularly slavery, slave trade, torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment shall be prohibited.

Article 6

Every individual shall have the right to liberty and to the security of his person. No one may be deprived of his freedom except for reasons and conditions previously laid down by law. In particular, no one may be arbitrarily arrested or detained.

Article 7

1. Every individual shall have the right to have his cause heard. This comprises:

(a) the right to an appeal to competent national organs against acts of violating his fundamental rights as recognized and guaranteed by conventions, laws, regulations and customs in force;

(b) the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty by a competent court or tribunal;

(c) the right to defense, including the right to be defended by counsel of his choice;

(d) the right to be tried within a reasonable time by an impartial court or tribunal.

2. No one may be condemned for an act or omission which did not constitute a legally punishable offence at the time it was committed. No penalty may be inflicted for an offence for which no provision was made at the time it was committed. Punishment is personal and can be imposed only on the offender.

Article 8

Freedom of conscience, the profession and free practice of religion shall be guaranteed. No one may, subject to law and order, be submitted to measures restricting the exercise of these freedoms.

Article 9

1. Every individual shall have the right to receive information.
2. Every individual shall have the right to express and disseminate his opinions within the law.

Article 10

1. Every individual shall have the right to free association provided that he abides by the law.
2. Subject to the obligation of solidarity provided for in 29 no one may be compelled to join an association.

Article 11

Every individual shall have the right to assemble freely with others. The exercise of this right shall be subject only to necessary restrictions provided for by law in particular those enacted in the interest of national security, the safety, health, ethics and rights and freedoms of others.

Article 12

1. Every individual shall have the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of a State provided he abides by the law.
2. Every individual shall have the right to leave any country including his own, and to return to his country. This right may only be subject to restrictions, provided for by law for the protection of national security, law and order, public health or morality.
3. Every individual shall have the right, when persecuted, to seek and obtain asylum in other countries in accordance with laws of those countries and international conventions.
4. A non-national legally admitted in a territory of a State Party to the present Charter, may only be expelled from it by virtue of a decision taken in accordance with the law.
5. The mass expulsion of non-nationals shall be prohibited. Mass expulsion shall be that which is aimed at national, racial, ethnic or religious groups.

Article 13

1. Every citizen shall have the right to participate freely in the government of his

country, either directly or through freely chosen representatives in accordance with the provisions of the law.

2. Every citizen shall have the right of equal access to the public service of his country.

3. Every individual shall have the right of access to public property and services in strict equality of all persons before the law.

Article 14

The right to property shall be guaranteed. It may only be encroached upon in the interest of public need or in the general interest of the community and in accordance with the provisions of appropriate laws.

Article 15

Every individual shall have the right to work under equitable and satisfactory conditions, and shall receive equal pay for equal work.

Article 16

1. Every individual shall have the right to enjoy the best attainable state of physical and mental health.

2. States parties to the present Charter shall take the necessary measures to protect the health of their people and to ensure that they receive medical attention when they are sick.

Article 17

1. Every individual shall have the right to education.

2. Every individual may freely, take part in the cultural life of his community.

3. The promotion and protection of morals and traditional values recognized by the community shall be the duty of the State.

Article 18

1. The family shall be the natural unit and basis of society. It shall be protected by the State which shall take care of its physical health and moral.

2. The State shall have the duty to assist the family which is the custodian of morals and traditional values recognized by the community.

3. The State shall ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women and also ensure the protection of the rights of the woman and the child as stipulated in international declarations and conventions.

4. The aged and the disabled shall also have the right to special measures of protection in keeping with their physical or moral needs.

Article 19

All peoples shall be equal; they shall enjoy the same respect and shall have the same rights. Nothing shall justify the domination of a people by another.

Article 20

1. All peoples shall have the right to existence. They shall have the unquestionable and inalienable right to self-determination. They shall freely determine their political status and shall pursue their economic and social development according to the policy they have freely chosen.

2. Colonized or oppressed peoples shall have the right to free themselves from the bonds of domination by resorting to any means recognized by the international community.

3. All peoples shall have the right to the assistance of the States parties to the present Charter in their liberation struggle against foreign domination, be it political, economic or cultural.

Article 21

1. All peoples shall freely dispose of their wealth and natural resources. This right shall be exercised in the exclusive interest of the people. In no case shall a people be deprived of it.

2. In case of spoliation the dispossessed people shall have the right to the lawful

recovery of its property as well as to an adequate compensation.

3. The free disposal of wealth and natural resources shall be exercised without prejudice to the obligation of promoting international economic cooperation based on mutual respect, equitable exchange and the principles of international law.

4. States parties to the present Charter shall individually and collectively exercise the right to free disposal of their wealth and natural resources with a view to

strengthening African unity and solidarity.

5. States parties to the present Charter shall undertake to eliminate all forms of foreign economic exploitation particularly that practiced by

international monopolies so as to enable their peoples to fully benefit from the advantages derived from their national resources.

Article 22

1. All peoples shall have the right to their economic, social and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity and in the equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind.

2. States shall have the duty, individually or collectively, to ensure the exercise of the right to development.

Article 23

1. All peoples shall have the right to national and international peace and security. The principles of solidarity and friendly relations implicitly affirmed by the Charter of the United Nations and reaffirmed by that of the Organization of African Unity shall govern relations between States.

2. For the purpose of strengthening peace, solidarity and friendly relations, States parties to the present Charter shall ensure that:

(a) any individual enjoying the right of asylum under 12 of the present Charter shall not engage in subversive activities against his country of origin or any other State party to the present Charter;

(b) their territories shall not be used as bases for subversive or terrorist activities against the people of any other State party to the present Charter.

Article 24

All peoples shall have the right to a general satisfactory environment favourable to their development.

Article 25

States parties to the present Charter shall have the duty to promote and ensure through teaching, education and publication, the respect of the rights and freedoms contained in the present Charter and to see to it that these freedoms and rights as well as corresponding obligations and duties are understood.

Article 26

States parties to the present Charter shall have the duty to guarantee the independence of the Courts and shall allow the establishment and improvement of appropriate national institutions entrusted with the

promotion and protection of the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the present Charter.

Chapter II: Duties

Article 27

1. Every individual shall have duties towards his family and society, the State and other legally recognized communities and the international community.

2. The rights and freedoms of each individual shall be exercised with due regard to the rights of others, collective security, morality and common interest.

Article 28

Every individual shall have the duty to respect and consider his fellow beings without discrimination, and to maintain relations aimed at promoting, safeguarding and reinforcing mutual respect and tolerance.

Article 29

The individual shall also have the duty:

1. To preserve the harmonious development of the family and to work for the cohesion and respect of the family; to respect his parents at all times, to maintain them in case of need;

2. To serve his national community by placing his physical and intellectual abilities at its service;

3. Not to compromise the security of the State whose national or resident he is;

4. To preserve and strengthen social and national solidarity, particularly when the latter is threatened;

5. To preserve and strengthen the national independence and the territorial integrity of his country and to contribute to its defense in accordance with the law;

6. To work to the best of his abilities and competence, and to pay taxes imposed by law in the interest of the society;

7. To preserve and strengthen positive African cultural values in his relations with other members of the society, in the spirit of tolerance, dialogue and consultation and, in general, to contribute to the promotion of the moral wellbeing of society;

8. To contribute to the best of his abilities, at all times and at all levels, to the promotion and achievement of African unity.

Part II: Measures of Safeguard

Chapter I: Establishment and Organization of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights

Article 30

An African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, hereinafter called "the Commission," shall be established within the Organization of African Unity to promote human and peoples' rights and ensure their protection in Africa.

Article 31

1. The Commission shall consist of eleven members chosen from amongst African personalities of the highest reputation, known for their high morality, integrity, impartiality and competence in matters of human and peoples' rights; particular consideration being given to persons having legal experience.

2. The members of the Commission shall serve in their personal capacity.

Article 32

The Commission shall not include more than one national of the same state.

Article 33

The members of the Commission shall be elected by secret ballot by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, from a list of persons nominated by the States parties to the present Charter.

Article 34

Each State party to the present Charter may not nominate more than two candidates. The candidates must have the nationality of one of the States party to the present Charter. When two candidates are nominated by a State, one of them may not be a national of that State.

Article 35

1. The Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity shall invite States parties to the present Charter at least four months before the elections to nominate candidates;

2. The Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity shall make an alphabetical list of the persons thus nominated and communicate it to the Heads of State and Government at least one month before the elections.

Article 36

The members of the Commission shall be elected for a six year period and shall be eligible for re-election. However, the term of office of four of the members elected at the first election shall terminate after two years and the term of office of three others, at the end of four years.

Article 37

Immediately after the first election, the Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity shall draw lots to decide the names of those members referred to in Article 36.

Article 38

After their election, the members of the Commission shall make a solemn declaration to discharge their duties impartially and faithfully.

Article 39

1. In case of death or resignation of a member of the Commission the Chairman of the Commission shall immediately inform the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, who shall declare the seat vacant from the date of death or from the date on which the resignation takes effect.

2. If, in the unanimous opinion of other members of the Commission, a member has stopped discharging his duties for any reason other than a temporary absence, the Chairman of the Commission shall inform the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, who shall then declare the seat vacant.

3. In each of the cases anticipated above, the Assembly of Heads of State and

Government shall replace the member whose seat became vacant for the remaining period of his term unless the period is less than six months.

Article 40

Every member of the Commission shall be in office until the date his successor assumes office.

Article 41

The Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity shall appoint the Secretary of the Commission. He shall also provide the staff and services necessary for the effective discharge of the duties of the Commission. The Organization of African Unity shall bear the costs of the staff and services.

Article 42

1. The Commission shall elect its Chairman and Vice Chairman for a two-year period.

They shall be eligible for re-election.

2. The Commission shall lay down its rules of procedure.

3. Seven members shall form the quorum.

4. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a casting vote.

5. The Secretary General may attend the meetings of the Commission. He shall not participate in deliberations nor shall he be entitled to vote. The Chairman of the Commission may, however, invite him to speak.

Article 43

In discharging their duties, members of the Commission shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities provided for in the General Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Organization of African Unity.

Article 44

Provision shall be made for the emoluments and allowances of the members of the Commission in the Regular Budget of the Organization of African Unity.

Chapter II- Mandate of the Commission

Article 45

The functions of the Commission shall be:

1. To promote Human and Peoples' Rights and in particular:

(a) To collect documents, undertake studies and researches on African problems in the field of human and peoples' rights, organize seminars, symposia and conferences, disseminate information, encourage national and

local institutions concerned with human and peoples' rights, and should the case arise, give its views or make recommendations to Governments.

(b) To formulate and lay down, principles and rules aimed at solving legal problems relating to human and peoples' rights and fundamental freedoms upon which African Governments may base their legislations.

(c) Co-operate with other African and international institutions concerned with the promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights.

2. Ensure the protection of human and peoples' rights under conditions laid down by the present Charter.

3. Interpret all the provisions of the present Charter at the request of a State party, an institution of the OAU or an African Organization recognized by the OAU.

4. Perform any other tasks which may be entrusted to it by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Chapter III- Procedure of the Commission

Article 46

The Commission may resort to any appropriate method of investigation; it may hear from the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity or any other person capable of enlightening it.

Communication from States

Article 47

If a State party to the present Charter has good reasons to believe that another State party to this Charter has violated the provisions of the Charter, it may draw, by written communication, the attention of that State to the matter. This communication shall also be addressed to the Secretary General of the OAU and to the Chairman of the Commission. Within three months of the receipt of the communication, the State to which the communication is addressed shall give the enquiring State, written explanation or statement elucidating the matter. This should include as much as possible relevant information relating to the laws and rules of procedure applied and applicable, and the redress already given or course of action available.

Article 48

If within three months from the date on which the original communication is received by the State to which it is addressed, the issue is

not settled to the satisfaction of the two States involved through bilateral negotiation or by any other peaceful procedure, either State shall have the right to submit the matter to the Commission through the Chairman and shall notify the other States involved.

Article 49

Notwithstanding the provisions of 47, if a State party to the present Charter considers that another State party has violated the provisions of the Charter, it may refer the matter directly to the Commission by addressing a communication to the Chairman, to the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity and the State concerned.

Article 50

The Commission can only deal with a matter submitted to it after making sure that all local remedies, if they exist, have been exhausted, unless it is obvious to the Commission that the procedure of achieving these remedies would be unduly prolonged.

Article 51

1. The Commission may ask the States concerned to provide it with all relevant information.

2. When the Commission is considering the matter, States concerned may be represented before it and submit written or oral representation.

Article 52

After having obtained from the States concerned and from other sources all the information it deems necessary and after having tried all appropriate means to reach an amicable solution based on the respect of Human and Peoples' Rights, the Commission shall prepare, within a reasonable period of time from the notification referred to in 48, a report stating the facts and its findings. This report shall be sent to the States concerned and communicated to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Article 53

While transmitting its report, the Commission may make to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government such recommendations as it deems useful.

Article 54

The Commission shall submit to each ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government a report on its activities.

Other Communications

Article 55

1. Before each Session, the Secretary of the Commission shall make a list of the communications other than those of States parties to the present Charter and transmit them to the members of the Commission, who shall indicate which communications should be considered by the Commission.

2. A communication shall be considered by the Commission if a simple majority of its members so decide.

Article 56

Communications relating to human and peoples' rights referred to in 55 received by the Commission, shall be considered if they:

1. Indicate their authors even if the latter request anonymity,
2. Are compatible with the Charter of the Organization of African Unity or with the present Charter,
3. Are not written in disparaging or insulting language directed against the State concerned and its institutions or to the Organization of African Unity,
4. Are not based exclusively on news discriminated through the mass media,
5. Are sent after exhausting local remedies, if any, unless it is obvious that this procedure is unduly prolonged,
6. Are submitted within a reasonable period from the time local remedies are exhausted or from the date the Commission is seized of the matter, and
7. Do not deal with cases which have been settled by these States involved in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, or the Charter of the Organization of African Unity or the provisions of the present Charter.

Article 57

Prior to any substantive consideration, all communications shall be brought to the knowledge of the State concerned by the Chairman of the Commission.

Article 58

1. When it appears after deliberations of the Commission that one or more communications apparently relate to special cases which reveal the existence of a series of serious or massive violations of human and peoples' rights, the Commission shall draw the attention of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to these special cases.

2. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government may then request the Commission to undertake an in-depth study of these cases and make a factual report, accompanied by its findings and recommendations.

3. A case of emergency duly noticed by the Commission shall be submitted by the latter to the Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government who may request an in-depth study.

Article 59

1. All measures taken within the provisions of the present Charter shall remain confidential until such a time as the Assembly of Heads of State and Government

shall otherwise decide.

2. However, the report shall be published by the Chairman of the Commission upon the decision of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

3. The report on the activities of the Commission shall be published by its Chairman after it has been considered by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government.

Chapter IV- Applicable Principles

Article 60

The Commission shall draw inspiration from international law on human and peoples' rights, particularly from the provisions of various African instruments on human and peoples' rights, the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, other instruments adopted by the United Nations and by African countries in the field of human and peoples' rights as well as from the provisions of various instruments adopted within the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations of which the parties to the present Charter are members.

Article 61

The Commission shall also take into consideration, as subsidiary measures to determine the principles of law, other general or special international conventions, laying down rules expressly recognized by member states of the Organization of African Unity, African practices consistent with international norms on human and people's rights, customs generally accepted as law, general principles of law recognized by African states as well as legal precedents and doctrine.

Article 62

Each state party shall undertake to submit every two years, from the date the present Charter comes into force, a report on the legislative or other measures taken with a view to giving effect to the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed by the present Charter.

Article 63

1. The present Charter shall be open to signature, ratification or adherence of the Member states of the Organization of African Unity.

2. The instruments of ratification or adherence to the present Charter shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity.

3. The present Charter shall come into force three months after the reception by the Secretary General of the instruments of ratification or adherence of a simple majority of the member states of the Organization of African Unity.

Part III: General Provisions

Article 64

1. After the coming into force of the present Charter, members of the Commission shall be elected in accordance with the relevant Articles of the present Charter.

2. The Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity shall convene the first meeting of the Commission at the Headquarters of the Organization within three months of the constitution of the Commission. Thereafter, the Commission shall be convened by its Chairman whenever necessary but at least once a year.

Article 65

For each of the States that will ratify or adhere to the present Charter after its coming into force, the Charter shall take effect three months after the date of the deposit by that State of its instrument of ratification or adherence.

Article 66

Special protocols or agreements may, if necessary, supplement the provisions of the present Charter.

Article 67

The Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity shall inform member states of the Organization of the deposit of each instrument of ratification or adherence.

Article 68

The present Charter may be amended if a State party makes a written request to that effect to the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government may only consider the draft amendment after all the States parties.

Annex 7

Charter for African Cultural Renaissance

PREAMBLE

We, Heads of State and Government of the African Union meeting in the Sixth Ordinary Session in Khartoum, the Republic of The Sudan, from 23rd to 24th January 2006;

INSPIRED BY

The Cultural Charter for Africa adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting in its Thirteenth Ordinary Session, in Port Louis, Mauritius, from 2 to 5 July, 1976;

GUIDED BY

The Constitutive Act of the African Union; The Universal Declaration of Principles of International Cultural Co-operation adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its Fourteenth Session in 1966; The Pan-African Cultural Manifesto of Algiers (1969), and by the Inter-Governmental

Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa organized by UNESCO in Accra, in 1975, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity; The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981); The Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954) and its additional Protocols; The Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Cultural Property (1970);

Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972); The UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001); The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003); The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions, (2005); The Decision of OAU Summit on the establishment of the African Academy of Languages; The Decision of the First Conference of African Ministers of Culture on the endorsement of the Draft Charter for African Cultural Renaissance, from 13 to 14 December 2005, in Nairobi, Kenya;

AFFIRMING

That any human community is necessarily governed by rules and principles based on culture; and that culture should be regarded as the set of distinctive linguistic, spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of the society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs; That all cultures emanate from the societies, communities, groups and individuals and that any African cultural policy should of necessity enable peoples to evolve for increased responsibility in its development;

AWARE OF THE FACT

That any people have the inalienable right to organize their cultural life in full harmony with their political, economic, social, philosophical and spiritual ideas;

CONVINCED

That all the cultures of the world are equally entitled to respect just as all individuals are equal as regards free access to culture;

RECALLING

That despite cultural domination which during the slave trade and the colonial era led to the depersonalization of part of the African peoples, falsified their history, systematically disparaged and combated African values,

and tried to replace progressively and officially, their languages by that of the colonize, the African peoples were able to find in African culture, the necessary strength for resistance and the liberation of the Continent;

CONVINCED

That the unity of Africa is founded first and foremost on its history;

That the affirmation of cultural identity denotes a concern common to all peoples of Africa; That African cultural diversity and unity are a factor of equilibrium, strength in African economic development, conflict resolution and reducing inequality and injustice to promote national integration; That it is imperative to edify educational systems which embody the African and universal values, so as to ensure the rooting of youth in African culture, their exposure to the values of other civilizations, and mobilize the social forces in the context of a sustainable, endogenous participatory development; That it is imperative to resolutely ensure the promotion of African languages, mainstay and media of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in its most authentic and essentially popular form and also as a factor of development; That it is imperative to carry out a systematic inventory with a view to preserving and

promoting tangible and intangible cultural heritage, in particular in the spheres of History, Traditions, Arts and Handicrafts, Knowledge and Know-how;

GUIDED BY

A common determination to strengthen understanding among our peoples and cooperation among our States in order to meet the aspirations of our peoples to see brotherhood and solidarity reinforced and integrated within a greater cultural unity which transcends ethnic, national and regional divergences on the basis of a shared vision;

AWARE

That culture constitutes for our peoples the surest means to chart Africa's own course towards technological development, and the most efficient response to the challenges of globalisation;

CONVINCED

That African culture is meaningless unless it plays a full part in the political, economic and social liberation struggle, and in the rehabilitation and unification efforts and that there is no limit to the cultural development of a people;

CONVINCED

That a common resolve provides the basis for promoting the harmonious cultural development of our States and our societies;

CONSIDERING

That the globalisation process facilitated by rapid developments in information and communication technologies constitutes a challenge for cultural identities and cultural diversity and requires universal mobilization to promote dialogue between civilizations;

AGREE

To establish the present Charter for African Cultural Renaissance.

Article 1

Replacement of the 1976 Cultural Charter for Africa

The Cultural Charter for Africa adopted in 1976 by the Heads of States and Governments of the Organization of African Unity is hereby replaced by the present Charter.

Article 2

Relationship between Parties to the Revised Charter and
Parties Bound by the 1976 Cultural Charter for Africa

(a) Between parties which are bound by this Charter, only this Charter shall apply.

(b) The relationships between Parties to the original Cultural Charter for Africa of 1976 and Parties to this Revised Charter shall be governed by the provisions of original Cultural Charter for Africa.

Part I

Objectives And Principles

Article 3

The objectives of this Charter are as follows:

- (a) To assert the dignity of African men and women as well as the popular foundations of their culture;
- (b) To promote freedom of expression and cultural democracy, which is inseparable from social and political democracy;
- (c) To promote an enabling environment for African peoples to maintain and reinforce the sense and will for progress and development;

- (d) To preserve and promote the African cultural heritage through preservation,
restoration and rehabilitation;
- (e) To combat and eliminate all forms of alienation, exclusion and cultural oppression everywhere in Africa;
- (f) To encourage cultural co-operation among Member States with a view to the strengthening of African unity, through the use of African languages and the promotion of inter-cultural dialogue;
- (g) To integrate cultural objectives in development strategies;
- (h) To encourage international cultural co-operation for a better understanding among peoples within and outside Africa;
- (i) To promote in each country the popularization of science and technology including traditional knowledge systems as a condition for better understanding and preservation of cultural and natural heritage;
- (j) To strengthen the role of culture in promoting peace and good governance;
- (k) To develop all the dynamic values of the African cultural heritage that promote human rights, social cohesion and human development;
- (l) To provide African peoples with the resources to enable them to cope with globalization.

Article 4

In order to fulfil the objectives set out in Article 1, the African States solemnly subscribe to the following principles:

- a) access of all citizens to education and to culture;
- b) respect for the freedom to create and the liberation of the creative genius of the people;
- c) respect for national and regional identities in the area of culture as well as the cultural rights of minorities;
- d) strengthening the role of science and technology, including endogenous systems of knowledge, in the life of the African peoples by incorporating the use of African languages;
- e) exchange and dissemination of cultural experiences between African countries.

Part II

African Cultural Diversity, Identity And Renaissance

Article 5

1. African States recognize that cultural diversity is a factor for mutual enrichment of peoples and nations. Consequently, they commit themselves to defend minorities, their cultures, their rights and their fundamental freedoms.

2. Cultural diversity contributes to the expression of national and regional identities, and more widely, to building Pan-Africanism.

Article 6

At national level, the promotion of identities consists of fostering mutual understanding and coordinating inter-cultural and inter-generational dialogue. At global level, the promotion of African identities exemplifies African dignity and freedoms. It presents African values and the contribution of Africa and the African Diaspora to the building of universal civilization.

Article 7

1. African States commit themselves to work for African Renaissance. They agree on the need for reconstruction of the historical memory and conscience of Africa and the

African Diaspora.

2. They consider that the general History published by UNESCO constitutes a valid base for teaching the History of Africa and recommend its dissemination, including in

African languages, as well as the publication of its abridged and simplified versions for wider audiences.

Part III

Cultural Development

Chapter I

Basic Principles of a Cultural Policy

Article 8

The experience of previous decades recommends that an in-depth renewal of national and regional approaches in terms of cultural policy be carried out. As the production of peoples, grassroots communities, artists and intellectuals, culture is a factor of social progress and a driving force for innovation.

Article 9

States have the essential task of creating an enabling environment for cultural innovation and development. To this end, they shall guarantee freedom of expression for all citizens and cultural stakeholders.

Article 10

1. States will ensure the introduction of African cultural values and the universal principles of human rights in education, as well as in information and communication programmes.

2. States commit themselves to:

- protect and promote the freedom of artists, intellectuals and men and women of culture;
- protect and develop tangible and intangible cultural heritage;
- financially and materially support cultural initiatives in all strata of society;
- facilitate access to education and culture for all segments of the population.

Chapter II

Cultural Stakeholders

Article 11

1. States recognise that a significant number of non-institutional actors are instrumental in cultural development: designers, private developers, associations, local governments, the private sector,

2. States commit themselves to support cultural development through incentive measures in fiscal, legislative and administrative plans. Such measures shall target inventors associations, the civil society and the private sector.

Article 12

1. States shall build the capacity of the cultural sector and stakeholders through the

organization of festivals, seminars, conferences, training and refresher courses at

national, sub-regional, continental and Pan-African level.

2. States shall guarantee equal access of women and men to cultural expression,

decision-making, art and cultural professions.

Article 13

1. The youth represent the majority of the African population. The key resources for contemporary creation reside in the youth.
2. States commit themselves to recognise cultural expressions by the youth, according them their true value and responding to their aspirations, in accordance with African culture and values.

Article 14

Elders and traditional leaders are cultural stakeholders in their own right. Their role and importance deserve official recognition in order for them to be integrated in modern mechanisms of conflict resolution and the inter-cultural dialogue system.

Article 15

Training is a fundamental component of cultural, economic and social development. Consequently, African States should create an enabling environment to enhance the access and participation of all in culture, including marginalized and underprivileged communities.

Article 16

To achieve the objective spelt out in the previous article, African States should define training policies for artists that guarantee the freedom of artists, creators and other cultural stakeholders.

Article 17

Professional training for creative artists should be improved, renewed and adapted to modern methods, without breaking links with traditional sources of culture. To this end, specialist training should be provided in national, sub-regional and regional training institutions which should be established by Africans.

Part IV

Use Of African Languages

Article 18

African States recognize the need to develop African languages in order to ensure their cultural advancement, and acceleration of their economic and social development. To this end, they should endeavour to formulate and implement appropriate national language policies.

Article 19

African States should prepare and implement reforms for the introduction of African languages into the education curriculum. To this end, each State should extend the use of African languages taking into consideration the requirements of social cohesion and technological progress, as well as regional and African integration.

Part V

Use Of Mass Media

Article 20

African States recognize the links between cultural, information and communication policies, therefore they should encourage the use of the information and communication media for their cultural development and promotion.

Article 21

African States should:

- a) ensure that new information and communication technologies are used to promote African culture;
- b) promote the establishment of publishing and distribution houses for books, textbooks, children's books and audio-visual works, particularly in African languages;
- c) more specifically, create an enabling environment that will enhance the creation, protection, production and distribution of cultural works.

Part VI

The Role Of States In Cultural Development

Chapter III

Assistance to Artistic Creation and Expression

Article 22

States should create an enabling environment that fosters creativity in all its diversity, mainly through:

- a) Putting in place an appropriate institutional framework with a view to facilitating creativity and artistic expression;

b) Providing financial, technical and other forms of assistance to stimulate artistic creation and expression, preferably by the establishment of national funds for the promotion of arts and culture;

c) Providing fiscal assistance and incentives measures, particularly tax exemption for African cultural goods and services;

d) Subscribing to and ratifying charters, conventions and other legislative instruments for the preservation and promotion of artistic creation and expression, namely, the International Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), which is an important instrument on the protection of local languages, arts and culture against the effects of standardization arising from cultural globalization, particularly in developing countries;

e) Taking appropriate measures for the protection of intellectual property rights related to the expression of cultural diversity;

f) Harmonizing national policies and legislation with international charters, conventions and other legislative instruments.

Chapter IV

The Protection Of African Artistic Goods And Services

Article 23

African States should prepare an inter-African convention on copyright in order to guarantee the protection of African works. They should also intensify their efforts to modify existing international conventions to meet African interests.

Article 24

African States should enact national and inter-African laws and regulations guaranteeing the protection of copyright and set up national authors' associations and copyright offices and encourage the establishment of authors' associations responsible for protecting the material and moral interests of those who produce cultural goods and services.

Chapter V

The Protection of African Cultural Heritage

Article 25

African States, having adopted the African Position Paper on the State of World Heritage in Africa, and the proposal for the establishment of the

African World Heritage Fund, should take all the necessary measures to implement the relevant provisions contained in this document and the Proposal for the Establishment of the African World Heritage Fund.

Article 26

African States should take steps to put an end to the pillage and illicit traffic of African cultural property and ensure that such cultural property is returned to their countries of origin.

Article 27

African States should take the necessary measures to ensure that archives and other historical records which have been illicitly removed from Africa are returned to African Governments in order that they may have complete archives concerning the history of their country.

Article 28

The concerned African States shall commit themselves to provide appropriate physical and environmental conditions to safeguard and protect returned archives and historical records.

Article 29

African States should ratify the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage;

Part VII

Intra And Inter-African Cultural Co-Operation

Article 30

African States acknowledge that it is vital to establish inter-African cultural co-operation as a contribution to the mutual understanding of the cultures of other States for the enrichment of African cultures, and between Africa and the rest of the world, particularly with the African Diaspora.

Article 31

To achieve the aims set out in the previous Article, African States agree:

- To build capacities, particularly for the specialized institutions of the AU Commission to enable it to coordinate, monitor, evaluate and harmonize best practices and policies concerning programmes and networks;

- To organize cultural events such as festivals, symposia, sporting events and arts exhibitions;
- To establish cultural research centres and encourage cultural exchange programmes;
- To commit themselves to ensure that African cultural values are deployed to maximum effect in order to promote and reinforce a sense of identity among Africans.

Part VIII

Africa And The African Diaspora

Article 32

African States should strengthen their ties with the African Diaspora worldwide in the areas of culture, education, science and technology, finance and economy. They should support the members of the African Diaspora to better interact with local, regional and national authorities in their countries of residence, capable of seeking solutions to the problems facing their communities. They should also assist them to participate further in the development of Africa.

Article 33

The African Union should take the necessary measures to establish institutions or “Africa Houses” in countries where there is a significant African Diaspora, and elsewhere with a view:

- a) To promote positive awareness about Africa;
- b) To promote African positions and perspectives;
- c) To support the African Diaspora in its efforts to forge relations with their communities, their regional and national governments in Africa and in the rest of the world.

Part IX

Final Provisions

Article 34

Signature and Ratification

(a) This Charter shall be open for signature to all Member States of the African Union and shall be ratified by the signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes;

(b) The original instrument, done if possible in African languages and in Arabic, English, French and Portuguese, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Commission of the African Union which shall transmit copies thereof to all AU Member States;

(c) Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Commission of the African Union which shall notify all signatories of such deposit.

Article 35

Entry into Force

This Charter shall come into force immediately upon receipt by the Commission of the African Union of the instruments of ratification and adhesion from two-thirds of the total membership of the African Union.

Article 36

Registration of the Charter

This Charter shall, after due ratification, be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations through the Commission of the African Union in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Article 37

Interpretation of the Charter

Any question which may arise concerning the interpretation of this Charter shall be resolved by decision of the Assembly of the African Union.

Article 38

Adhesion and Accession

(a) Any AU Member State may at any time notify the Commission of the African Union of its intention to adhere or accede to this Charter.

(b) The Commission of the African Union shall, on receipt of such notification, communicate a copy of it to all the Member States. Adhesion and accession shall take effect fourteen days after communication of the applicant's notice to all Member States by the Commission of African Union.

Article 39

Amendment and Revision

(a) Any State Party may submit proposals for the amendments or revision of this Charter.

(b) Proposals for amendment or revision shall be submitted, in writing, to the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union who shall transmit

the same to the States parties, in accordance within thirty (30) days of receipt thereof.

(c) The Assembly shall examine these proposals within a period of one (1) year following notification of States parties, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of this article.

(d) Amendments or revisions shall be adopted by the Assembly by a Consensus, failing which, by a two-thirds majority.

(e) Amendments or revisions shall enter into force for each State Party, which has accepted them, thirty (30) days after the Chairperson of the Commission of the African Union has received notice of acceptance.

Adopted By The Sixth Ordinary Session Of The
Assembly, Held In Khartoum, Sudan,
24 January 2006

Annex 8

African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance

PREAMBLE

We, the Member States of the African Union (AU);

Inspired by the objectives and principles enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the African Union, particularly Articles 3 and 4, which emphasise the significance of good governance, popular participation, the rule of law and human rights; Recognising the contributions of the African Union and Regional Economic Communities to the promotion, nurturing, strengthening and consolidation of democracy and governance;

Reaffirming our collective will to work relentlessly to deepen and consolidate the rule of law, peace, security and development in our countries;

Guided by our common mission to strengthen and consolidate institutions for good governance, continental unity and solidarity;

Committed to promote the universal values and principles of democracy, good governance, human rights and the right to development;

Cognizant of the historical and cultural conditions in Africa;

Seeking to entrench in the Continent a political culture of change of power based on the holding of regular, free, fair and transparent elections conducted by competent, independent and impartial national electoral bodies;

Concerned about the unconstitutional changes of governments that are one of the essential causes of insecurity, instability and violent conflict in Africa; Determined to promote and strengthen good governance through the institutionalization of transparency, accountability and participatory democracy; Convinced of the need to enhance the election observation missions in the role they play, particularly as they are an important contributory factor to ensuring the regularity, transparency and credibility of elections;

Desirous to enhance the relevant Declarations and Decisions of the OAU/AU (including the 1990 Declaration on the political and socio-economic situation in

Africa and the fundamental changes taking place in the world, the 1995 Cairo Agenda for the Re-launch of Africa's Economic and Social Development, the 1999 Algiers Declaration on Unconstitutional Changes of Government, the 2000 Lomé Declaration for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government, the 2002 OAU/AU Declaration on Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa, the 2003 Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union); Committed to implementing Decision EX.CL/Dec.31(III) adopted in Maputo, Mozambique, in July 2003 and Decision EX.CL/124(V) adopted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May 2004 respectively, by the adoption of an African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance;

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

Chapter 1

Definitions

Article 1

In this Charter, unless otherwise stated, the following expressions shall have the following meaning:

“AU” means the African Union;

“African Human Rights Commission” means the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights;

“African Peer Review Mechanism” APRM means the African Peer Review Mechanism;

“Assembly” means the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union;

“Commission” means the Commission of the Union;

“Constitutive Act” means the Constitutive Act of the Union;

“Charter” means the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance;

“Member States” means the Member States of the African Union;

“National Electoral Body” means a competent authority, established by the relevant legal instruments of a State Party, responsible for organizing and supervising elections;

“NEPAD” means the New Partnership for Africa’s Development;

“Peace and Security Council” means the Peace and Security Council of the African Union;

“Regional Economic Communities” means the regional integration blocs of the African Union;

“State Party” means any Member State of the African Union which has ratified or acceded to this Charter and deposited the instruments for ratification or accession with the Chairperson of the African Union Commission;

“Union” means the African Union.

Chapter 2

Objectives

Article 2

The objectives of this Charter are to:

1. Promote adherence, by each State Party, to the universal values and principles of democracy and respect for human rights;
2. Promote and enhance adherence to the principle of the rule of law premised upon the respect for, and the supremacy of, the Constitution and constitutional order in the political arrangements of the State Parties;
3. Promote the holding of regular free and fair elections to institutionalize legitimate authority of representative government as well as democratic change of governments;
4. Prohibit, reject and condemn unconstitutional change of government in any Member State as a serious threat to stability, peace, security and development;
5. Promote and protect the independence of the judiciary;
6. Nurture, support and consolidate good governance by promoting democratic culture and practice, building and strengthening governance institutions and inculcating political pluralism and tolerance;

7. Encourage effective coordination and harmonization of governance policies amongst State Parties with the aim of promoting regional and continental integration;
8. Promote State Parties' sustainable development and human security;
9. Promote the fight against corruption in conformity with the provisions of the AU Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption adopted in Maputo, Mozambique in July 2003;
10. Promote the establishment of the necessary conditions to foster citizen participation, transparency, access to information, freedom of the press and accountability in the management of public affairs;
11. Promote gender balance and equality in the governance and development processes;
12. Enhance cooperation between the Union, Regional Economic Communities and the International Community on democracy, elections and governance; and
13. Promote best practices in the management of elections for purposes of political stability and good governance.

Chapter 3

Principles

Article 3

State Parties shall implement this Charter in accordance with the following principles:

1. Respect for human rights and democratic principles;
2. Access to and exercise of state power in accordance with the constitution of the State Party and the principle of the rule of law;
3. Promotion of a system of government that is representative;
4. Holding of regular, transparent, free and fair elections;
5. Separation of powers;
6. Promotion of gender equality in public and private institutions;
7. Effective participation of citizens in democratic and development processes and in governance of public affairs;
8. Transparency and fairness in the management of public affairs;
9. Condemnation and rejection of acts of corruption, related offenses and impunity;
10. Condemnation and total rejection of unconstitutional changes of government;
11. Strengthening political pluralism and recognising the role, rights and

responsibilities of legally constituted political parties, including opposition political parties, which should be given a status under national law.

Chapter 4

Democracy, Rule of Law and Human Rights

Article 4

1. State Parties shall commit themselves to promote democracy, the principle of the rule of law and human rights.
2. State Parties shall recognize popular participation through universal suffrage as the inalienable right of the people.

Article 5

State Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure constitutional rule, particularly constitutional transfer of power.

Article 6

State Parties shall ensure that citizens enjoy fundamental freedoms and human rights taking into account their universality, interdependence and indivisibility.

Article 7

State Parties shall take all necessary measures to strengthen the Organs of the Union that are mandated to promote and protect human rights and to fight impunity and endow them with the necessary resources.

Article 8

1. State Parties shall eliminate all forms of discrimination, especially those based on political opinion, gender, ethnic, religious and racial grounds as well as any other form of intolerance.
2. State Parties shall adopt legislative and administrative measures to guarantee the rights of women, ethnic minorities, migrants, people with disabilities, refugees and displaced persons and other marginalized and vulnerable social groups.
3. State Parties shall respect ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, which contributes to strengthening democracy and citizen participation.

Article 9

State Parties undertake to design and implement social and economic policies and programmes that promote sustainable development and human security.

Article 10

1. State Parties shall entrench the principle of the supremacy of the constitution in the political organization of the State.
2. State Parties shall ensure that the process of amendment or revision of their constitution reposes on national consensus, obtained if need be, through referendum.
3. State Parties shall protect the right to equality before the law and equal protection by the law as a fundamental precondition for a just and democratic society.

Chapter 5

The Culture of Democracy and Peace

Article 11

The State Parties undertake to develop the necessary legislative and policy frameworks to establish and strengthen a culture of democracy and peace.

Article 12

State Parties undertake to implement programmes and carry out activities designed to promote democratic principles and practices as well as consolidate a culture of democracy and peace. To this end, State Parties shall:

1. Promote good governance by ensuring transparent and accountable administration.
2. Strengthen political institutions to entrench a culture of democracy and peace.
3. Create conducive conditions for civil society organizations to exist and operate within the law.
4. Integrate civic education in their educational curricula and develop appropriate programmes and activities.

Article 13

State Parties shall take measures to ensure and maintain political and social dialogue, as well as public trust and transparency between political leaders and

the people, in order to consolidate democracy and peace.

Chapter 6

Democratic Institutions

Article 14

1. State Parties shall strengthen and institutionalize constitutional civilian control over the armed and security forces to ensure the consolidation of democracy and constitutional order.
2. State Parties shall take legislative and regulatory measures to ensure that those who attempt to remove an elected government through unconstitutional means are dealt with in accordance with the law.
3. State Parties shall cooperate with each other to ensure that those who attempt to remove an elected government through unconstitutional means are dealt with in accordance with the law.

Article 15

1. State Parties shall establish public institutions that promote and support democracy and constitutional order.
2. State Parties shall ensure that the independence or autonomy of the said institutions is guaranteed by the constitution.
3. State Parties shall ensure that these institutions are accountable to competent national organs.
4. State Parties shall provide the above-mentioned institutions with resources to perform their assigned missions efficiently and effectively.

Article 16

State Parties shall cooperate at regional and continental levels in building and consolidating democracy through exchange of experiences.

Chapter 7

Democratic Elections

Article 17

State Parties re-affirm their commitment to regularly holding transparent, free and fair elections in accordance with the Union's Declaration on the Principles Governing Democratic Elections in Africa. To this end, State Parties shall:

1. Establish and strengthen independent and impartial national electoral bodies responsible for the management of elections.

2. Establish and strengthen national mechanisms that redress election related disputes in a timely manner.

3. Ensure fair and equitable access by contesting parties and candidates to state controlled media during elections.

4. Ensure that there is a binding code of conduct governing legally recognized political stakeholders, government and other political actors prior, during and after elections. The code shall include a commitment by political stakeholders to accept the results of the election or challenge them in through exclusively legal channels.

Article 18

1. State Parties may request the Commission, through the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Unit and the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Fund, to provide advisory services or assistance for strengthening and developing their electoral institutions and processes.

2. The Commission may at any time, in consultation with the State Party concerned, send special advisory missions to provide assistance to that State Party for strengthening its electoral institutions and processes.

Article 19

1. Each State Party shall inform the Commission of scheduled elections and invite it to send an electoral observer mission.

2. Each State Party shall guarantee conditions of security, free access to information, non-interference, freedom of movement and full cooperation with the electoral observer mission.

Article 20

The Chairperson of the Commission shall first send an exploratory mission during the period prior to elections. This mission shall obtain any useful information and documentation, and brief the Chairperson, stating whether the necessary conditions have been established and if the environment is conducive to the holding of transparent, free and fair elections in conformity with the principles of the Union governing democratic elections.

Article 21

1. The Commission shall ensure that these missions are independent and shall provide them with the necessary resources for that purpose.

2. Electoral observer missions shall be conducted by appropriate and competent experts in the area of election monitoring, drawn from

continental and national institutions such as, but not limited to, the Pan-African Parliament, national electoral bodies, national legislatures and eminent persons taking due cognizance of the principles of regional representation and gender equality.

3. Electoral observer missions shall be conducted in an objective, impartial and transparent manner.

4. All electoral observer missions shall present the report of their activities to the Chairperson of the Commission within a reasonable time.

5. A copy of the report shall be submitted to the State Party concerned within a reasonable time.

Article 22

State Parties shall create a conducive environment for independent and impartial national monitoring or observation mechanisms.

Chapter 8

Sanctions in Cases of Unconstitutional Changes of Government

Article 23

State Parties agree that the use of, *inter alia*, the following illegal means of accessing or maintaining power constitute an unconstitutional change of government and shall draw appropriate sanctions by the Union:

1. Any putsch or coup d'états against a democratically elected government.
2. Any intervention by mercenaries to replace a democratically elected government.
3. Any replacement of a democratically elected government by armed dissidents or rebels.
4. Any refusal by an incumbent government to relinquish power to the winning party or candidate after free, fair and regular elections; or
5. Any amendment or revision of the constitution or legal instruments, which is an infringement on the principles of democratic change of government.

Article 24

When a situation arises in a State Party that may affect its democratic political institutional arrangements or the legitimate exercise of power, the Peace and Security Council shall exercise its responsibilities in order to maintain the

constitutional order in accordance with relevant provisions of the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African

Union, hereinafter referred to as the Protocol.

Article 25

1. When the Peace and Security Council observes that there has been an unconstitutional change of government in a State Party, and that diplomatic initiatives have failed, it shall suspend the said State Party from the exercise of its right to participate in the activities of the Union in accordance with the provisions of articles 30 of the Constitutive Act and 7(g) of the Protocol. The suspension shall take effect immediately.

2. However, the suspended State Party shall continue to fulfil its obligations to the Union, in particular with regard to those relating to respect of human rights.

3. Notwithstanding the suspension of the State Party, the Union shall maintain diplomatic contacts and take any initiatives to restore democracy in that State Party.

4. The perpetrators of unconstitutional change of government shall not be allowed to participate in elections held to restore the democratic order or hold any position of responsibility in political institutions of their State.

5. Perpetrators of unconstitutional change of government may also be tried before the competent court of the Union.

6. The Assembly shall impose sanctions on any Member State that is proved to have instigated or supported unconstitutional change of government in another state in conformity with Article 23 of the Constitutive Act.

7. The Assembly may decide to apply other forms of sanctions on perpetrators of unconstitutional change of government including punitive economic measures.

8. State Parties shall not harbour or give sanctuary to perpetrators of unconstitutional changes of government.

9. State Parties shall bring to justice the perpetrators of unconstitutional changes of government or take necessary steps to effect their extradition.

10. State Parties shall encourage conclusion of bilateral extradition agreements as well as the adoption of legal instruments on extradition and mutual legal assistance.

Article 26

The Peace and Security Council shall lift sanctions once the situation that led to the suspension is resolved.

Chapter 9

Political, Economic and Social Governance

Article 27

In order to advance political, economic and social governance, State Parties shall commit themselves to:

1. Strengthening the capacity of parliaments and legally recognised political parties to perform their core functions;
2. Fostering popular participation and partnership with civil society organizations;
3. Undertaking regular reforms of the legal and justice systems;
4. Improving public sector management;
5. Improving efficiency and effectiveness of public services and combating corruption;
6. Promoting the development of the private sector through, inter alia, enabling legislative and regulatory framework;
7. Development and utilisation of information and communication technologies;
8. Promoting freedom of expression, in particular freedom of the press and fostering a professional media;
9. Harnessing the democratic values of the traditional institutions; and
10. Preventing the spread and combating the impact of diseases such as Malaria, Tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, Ebola fever, and Avian Flu.

Article 28

State Parties shall ensure and promote strong partnerships and dialogue between government, civil society and private sector.

Article 29

1. State Parties shall recognize the crucial role of women in development and strengthening of democracy.
2. State Parties shall create the necessary conditions for full and active participation of women in the decision-making processes and structures at all levels as a fundamental element in the promotion and exercise of a democratic culture.

3. State Parties shall take all possible measures to encourage the full and active participation of women in the electoral process and ensure gender parity in representation at all levels, including legislatures.

Article 30

State Parties shall promote citizen participation in the development process through appropriate structures.

Article 31

1. State Parties shall promote participation of social groups with special needs, including the Youth and people with disabilities, in the governance process.
2. State Parties shall ensure systematic and comprehensive civic education in order to encourage full participation of social groups with special needs in democracy and development processes.

Article 32

State Parties shall strive to institutionalize good political governance through:

1. Accountable, efficient and effective public administration;
2. Strengthening the functioning and effectiveness of parliaments;
3. An independent judiciary;
4. Relevant reforms of public institutions including the security sector;
5. Harmonious relationships in society including civil-military relations;
6. Consolidating sustainable multiparty political systems;
7. Organising regular, free and fair elections; and
8. Entrenching and respecting the principle of the rule of law.

Article 33

State Parties shall institutionalize good economic and corporate governance through, inter alia:

1. Effective and efficient public sector management;
2. Promoting transparency in public finance management;
3. Preventing and combating corruption and related offences;
4. Efficient management of public debt;
5. Prudent and sustainable utilization of public resources;
6. Equitable allocation of the nation's wealth and natural resources;
7. Poverty alleviation;
8. Enabling legislative and regulatory framework for private sector development;

9. Providing a conducive environment for foreign capital inflows;
10. Developing tax policies that encourage investment;
11. Preventing and combating crime;
12. Elaborating and implementing economic development strategies including private-public sector partnerships;
13. An efficient and effective tax system premised upon transparency and accountability.

Article 34

State Parties shall decentralize power to democratically elected local authorities as provided in national laws.

Article 35

Given the enduring and vital role of traditional authorities, particularly in rural communities, the State Parties shall strive to find appropriate ways and means to increase their integration and effectiveness within the larger democratic system.

Article 36

State Parties shall promote and deepen democratic governance by implementing the principles and core values of the NEPAD Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance and, where applicable, the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM).

Article 37

State Parties shall pursue sustainable development and human security through achievement of NEPAD objectives and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Article 38

1. State Parties shall promote peace, security and stability in their respective countries, regions and in the continent by fostering participatory political systems with well-functioning and, if need be, inclusive institutions;

2. State Parties shall promote solidarity amongst Member States and support the conflict prevention and resolution initiatives that the Union may undertake in conformity with the Protocol establishing the Peace and Security Council.

Article 39

State Parties shall promote a culture of respect, compromise, consensus and tolerance as a means to mitigate conflicts, promote political stability and security, and to harness the creative energies of the African peoples.

Article 40

State Parties shall adopt and implement policies, strategies and programmes required to generate productive employment, mitigate the impact of diseases and alleviate poverty and eradicate extreme poverty and illiteracy.

Article 41

State Parties shall undertake to provide and enable access to basic social services to the people.

Article 42

State Parties shall implement policies and strategies to protect the environment to achieve sustainable development for the benefit of the present and future generations. In this regard, State Parties are encouraged to accede to the relevant treaties and other international legal instruments.

Article 43

1. State Parties shall endeavour to provide free and compulsory basic education to all, especially girls, rural inhabitants, minorities, people with disabilities and other marginalized social groups.
2. In addition, State Parties shall ensure the literacy of citizens above compulsory school age, particularly women, rural inhabitants, minorities, people with disabilities, and other marginalized social groups.

Chapter 10

Mechanisms for Application

Article 44

To give effect to the commitments contained in this Charter:

1. Individual State Party Level

State Parties commit themselves to implement the objectives, apply the principles and respect the commitments enshrined in this Charter as follows:

- (a) State Parties shall initiate appropriate measures including legislative, executive and administrative actions to bring State Parties' national

- laws and regulations into conformity with this Charter;
- (b) State Parties shall take all necessary measures in accordance with constitutional provisions and procedures to ensure the wider dissemination of the Charter and all relevant legislation as may be necessary for the implementation of its fundamental principles;
 - (c) State Parties shall promote political will as a necessary condition for the attainment of the goals set forth in this Charter;
 - (d) State Parties shall incorporate the commitments and principles of the Charter in their national policies and strategies.

2. Commission Level

A. At Continental Level

- (a) The Commission shall develop benchmarks for implementation of the commitments and principles of this Charter and evaluate compliance by State Parties;
- (b) The Commission shall promote the creation of favourable conditions for democratic governance in the African Continent, in particular by facilitating the harmonization of policies and laws of State Parties;
- (c) The Commission shall take the necessary measures to ensure that the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Unit and the Democracy and Electoral Assistance Fund provide the needed assistance and resources to State Parties in support of electoral processes;
- (d) The Commission shall ensure that effect is given to the decisions of the Union in regard to unconstitutional change of government on the Continent.

B. At Regional Level

The Commission shall establish a framework for cooperation with Regional Economic Communities on the implementation of the principles of the Charter. In this regard, it shall commit the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to:

- a) Encourage Member States to ratify or adhere to this Charter.
- b) Designate focal points for coordination, evaluation and monitoring of the implementation of the commitments and principles enshrined in this Charter in order to ensure massive participation of stakeholders, particularly civil society organizations, in the process.

Article 45

The Commission shall:

- (a) Act as the central coordinating structure for the implementation of this Charter;
- (b) Assist State Parties in implementing the Charter;
- (c) Coordinate evaluation on implementation of the Charter with other key organs of the Union including the Pan-African Parliament, the Peace and Security Council, the African Human Rights Commission, the African Court of Justice and Human Rights, the Economic, Social and Cultural Council, the Regional Economic Communities and appropriate national- level structures.

Chapter 11

Final Clauses

Article 46

In conformity with applicable provisions of the Constitutive Act and the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, the Assembly and the Peace and Security Council shall determine the appropriate measures to be imposed on any State Party that violates this Charter.

Article 47

1. This Charter shall be open for signature, ratification and accession by Member States of the Union in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures.
2. The instruments of ratification or accession shall be deposited with the Chairperson of the Commission.

Article 48

This Charter shall enter into force thirty (30) days after the deposit of fifteen (15) Instruments of Ratification.

Article 49

1. State Parties shall submit every two years, from the date the Charter comes into force, a report to the Commission on the legislative or other relevant measures taken with a view to giving effect to the principles and commitments of the Charter;

2. A copy of the report shall be submitted to the relevant organs of the Union for appropriate action within their respective mandates;
3. The Commission shall prepare and submit to the Assembly, through the Executive Council, a synthesized report on the implementation of the Charter;
4. The Assembly shall take appropriate measures aimed at addressing issues raised in the report.

Article 50

1. Any State Party may submit proposals for the amendment or revision of this Charter;
2. Proposals for amendment or revision shall be submitted to the Chairperson of the Commission who shall transmit same to State Parties within thirty (30) days of receipt thereof;
3. The Assembly, upon the advice of the Executive Council, shall examine these proposals at its session following notification, provided all State Parties have been notified at least three (3) months before the beginning of the session;
4. The Assembly shall adopt amendments or revisions by consensus or failing which, by two-thirds majority;
5. The amendments or revisions shall enter into force when approved by two-thirds majority of State Parties.

Article 51

1. The Chairperson of the Commission shall be the depository of this Charter;
2. The Chairperson of the Commission shall inform all Member States of the signature, ratification, accession, entry into force, reservations, requests for amendments and approvals thereof;
3. Upon entry into force of this Charter, the Chairperson of the Commission shall register it with the Secretary General of the United Nations in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Article 52

None of the provisions of the present Charter shall affect more favourable provisions relating to democracy, elections and governance contained in the national legislation of State Parties or in any other regional, continental or international conventions or agreements applicable in these State Parties.

Article 53

This Charter, drawn up in four (4) original texts, in Arabic, English, French and Portuguese languages, all four (4) being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Chairperson of the Commission who shall transmit certified copies of same to all Member States and the United Nations General Secretariat.

Adopted By The Eighth Ordinary Session Of The Assembly, Held In
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 30 January 2007

Annex 9

Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa

The States Parties to this Protocol,

CONSIDERING that Article 66 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights provides for special protocols or agreements, if necessary, to supplement the provisions of the African Charter, and that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity meeting in its Thirty-first Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in June 1995, endorsed by resolution AHG/Res.240 (XXXI) the recommendation of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights to elaborate a Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa;

CONSIDERING that Article 2 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights enshrines the principle of non-discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion, national and social origin, fortune, birth or other status;

FURTHER CONSIDERING that Article 18 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights calls on all States Parties to eliminate every discrimination against women and to ensure the protection of the rights of women as stipulated in international declarations and conventions;

NOTING that Articles 60 and 61 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights recognise regional and international human rights instruments and African practices consistent with international norms on human and peoples' rights as being important reference points for the application and interpretation of the African Charter;

RECALLING that women's rights have been recognised and guaranteed in all international human rights instruments, notably the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and its Optional Protocol, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, and all other international and regional conventions and covenants relating to the rights of women as being inalienable, interdependent and indivisible human rights;

NOTING that women's rights and women's essential role in development, have been reaffirmed in the United Nations Plans of Action on the Environment and Development in 1992, on Human Rights in 1993, on Population and Development in 1994 and on Social Development in 1995;

RECALLING ALSO United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1325 (2000) on the role of Women in promoting peace and security;

REAFFIRMING the principle of promoting gender equality as enshrined in the Constitutive Act of the African Union as well as the New Partnership for Africa's Development, relevant Declarations, Resolutions and Decisions, which underline the commitment of the African States to ensure the full participation of African women as equal partners in Africa's development;

FURTHER NOTING that the African Platform for Action and the Dakar Declaration of 1994 and the Beijing Platform for Action of 1995 call on all Member States of the United Nations, which have made a solemn commitment to implement them, to take concrete steps to give greater attention to the human rights of women in order to eliminate all forms of discrimination and of gender-based violence against women;

RECOGNISING the crucial role of women in the preservation of African values based on the principles of equality, peace, freedom, dignity, justice, solidarity and democracy;

BEARING IN MIND related Resolutions, Declarations, Recommendations, Decisions, Conventions and other Regional and Sub-Regional Instruments aimed at eliminating all forms of discrimination and at promoting equality between women and men;

CONCERNED that despite the ratification of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other international human rights instruments by the majority of States Parties, and their solemn commitment to eliminate all forms of discrimination and harmful practices against women, women in Africa still continue to be victims of discrimination and harmful practices;

FIRMLY CONVINCED that any practice that hinders or endangers the normal growth and affects the physical and psychological development of women and girls should be condemned and eliminated;

DETERMINED to ensure that the rights of women are promoted, realised and protected in order to enable them to enjoy fully all their human rights;

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

Article 1

Definitions

For the purpose of the present Protocol:

a) “African Charter” means the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights;

b) “African Commission” means the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights;

“Assembly” means the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union;

“AU” means the African Union;

“Constitutive Act” means the Constitutive Act of the African Union;

“Discrimination against women” means any distinction, exclusion or restriction or any differential treatment based on sex and whose objectives or effects compromise or destroy the recognition, enjoyment or the exercise by women, regardless of their marital status, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all spheres of life;

“Harmful Practices” means all behaviour, attitudes and/or practices which negatively affect the fundamental rights of women and girls, such as their right to life, health, dignity, education and physical integrity;

“NEPAD” means the New Partnership for Africa’s Development established by the Assembly;

“States Parties” means the States Parties to this Protocol;

“Violence against women” means all acts perpetrated against women which cause or could cause them physical, sexual, psychological, and economic harm, including the threat to take such acts; or to undertake the imposition of arbitrary restrictions on or deprivation of fundamental freedoms in private or public life in peace time and during situations of armed conflicts or of war;

“Women” means persons of female gender, including girls;

Article 2

Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

1. States Parties shall combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures. In this regard they shall:

a) include in their national constitutions and other legislative instruments, if not already done, the principle of equality between women and men and ensure its effective application;

b) enact and effectively implement appropriate legislative or regulatory measures, including those prohibiting and curbing all forms of discrimination particularly those harmful practices which endanger the health and general well-being of women;

c) integrate a gender perspective in their policy decisions, legislation, development plans, programmes and activities and in all other spheres of life;

d) take corrective and positive action in those areas where discrimination against women in law and in fact continues to exist;

e) support the local, national, regional and continental initiatives directed at eradicating all forms of discrimination against women.

2. States Parties shall commit themselves to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of women and men through public education, information, education and communication strategies, with a view to achieving the elimination of harmful cultural and traditional practices and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes, or on stereotyped roles for women and men.

Article 3

Right to Dignity

Every woman shall have the right to dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition and protection of her human and legal rights;

Every woman shall have the right to respect as a person and to the free development of her personality;

States Parties shall adopt and implement appropriate measures to prohibit any exploitation or degradation of women;

States Parties shall adopt and implement appropriate measures to ensure the protection of every woman's right to respect for her dignity and protection of women from all forms of violence, particularly sexual and verbal violence.

Article 4

The Rights to Life, Integrity and Security of the Person

1. Every woman shall be entitled to respect for her life and the integrity and security of her person. All forms of exploitation, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment and treatment shall be prohibited.

2. States Parties shall take appropriate and effective measures to:

a) enact and enforce laws to prohibit all forms of violence against women including unwanted or forced sex whether the violence takes place in private or public;

b) adopt such other legislative, administrative, social and economic measures as may be necessary to ensure the prevention, punishment and eradication of all forms of violence against women;

c) identify the causes and consequences of violence against women and take appropriate measures to prevent and eliminate such violence;

d) actively promote peace education through curricula and social communication in order to eradicate elements in traditional and cultural beliefs, practices and stereotypes which legitimise and exacerbate the persistence and tolerance of violence against women;

e) punish the perpetrators of violence against women and implement programmes for the rehabilitation of women victims;

f) establish mechanisms and accessible services for effective information, rehabilitation and reparation for victims of violence against women;

g) prevent and condemn trafficking in women, prosecute the perpetrators of such trafficking and protect those women most at risk;

prohibit all medical or scientific experiments on women without their informed consent;

provide adequate budgetary and other resources for the implementation and monitoring of actions aimed at preventing and eradicating violence against women;

ensure that, in those countries where the death penalty still exists, not to carry out death sentences on pregnant or nursing women.

ensure that women and men enjoy equal rights in terms of access to refugee status, determination procedures and that women refugees are accorded the full protection and benefits guaranteed under international refugee law, including their own identity and other documents;

Article 5

Elimination of Harmful Practices

States Parties shall prohibit and condemn all forms of harmful practices which negatively affect the human rights of women and which are contrary to recognised international standards. States Parties shall take all necessary legislative and other measures to eliminate such practices, including:

- creation of public awareness in all sectors of society regarding harmful practices through information, formal and informal education and outreach programmes;

- prohibition, through legislative measures backed by sanctions, of all forms of female genital mutilation, scarification, medicalisation and para-medicalisation of female genital mutilation and all other practices in order to eradicate them;

- provision of necessary support to victims of harmful practices through basic services such as health services, legal and judicial support, emotional and psychological counselling as well as vocational training to make them self-supporting;

- protection of women who are at risk of being subjected to harmful practices or all other forms of violence, abuse and intolerance.

Article 6

Marriage

States Parties shall ensure that women and men enjoy equal rights and are regarded as equal partners in marriage. They shall enact appropriate national legislative measures to guarantee that:

- no marriage shall take place without the free and full consent of both parties;

- the minimum age of marriage for women shall be 18 years;

- monogamy is encouraged as the preferred form of marriage and that the rights of women in marriage and family, including in polygamous marital relationships are promoted and protected;

- every marriage shall be recorded in writing and registered in accordance with national laws, in order to be legally recognised;

- the husband and wife shall, by mutual agreement, choose their matrimonial regime and place of residence;

- a married woman shall have the right to retain her maiden name, to use it as she pleases, jointly or separately with her husband's surname;

- a woman shall have the right to retain her nationality or to acquire the nationality of her husband;

a woman and a man shall have equal rights, with respect to the nationality of their children except where this is contrary to a provision in national legislation or is contrary to national security interests;

a woman and a man shall jointly contribute to safeguarding the interests of the family, protecting and educating their children;

during her marriage, a woman shall have the right to acquire her own property and to administer and manage it freely.

Article 7

Separation, Divorce and Annulment of Marriage

States Parties shall enact appropriate legislation to ensure that women and men enjoy the same rights in case of separation, divorce or annulment of marriage. In this regard, they shall ensure that:

separation, divorce or annulment of a marriage shall be effected by judicial order;

women and men shall have the same rights to seek separation, divorce or annulment of a marriage;

in case of separation, divorce or annulment of marriage, women and men shall have reciprocal rights and responsibilities towards their children. In any case, the interests of the children shall be given paramount importance;

in case of separation, divorce or annulment of marriage, women and men shall have the right to an equitable sharing of the joint property deriving from the marriage.

Article 8

Access to Justice and Equal Protection before the Law

Women and men are equal before the law and shall have the right to equal protection and benefit of the law. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure:

effective access by women to judicial and legal services, including legal aid;
support to local, national, regional and continental initiatives directed at providing women access to legal services, including legal aid;

the establishment of adequate educational and other appropriate structures with particular attention to women and to sensitise everyone to the rights of women;

that law enforcement organs at all levels are equipped to effectively interpret and enforce gender equality rights;

that women are represented equally in the judiciary and law enforcement organs;

reform of existing discriminatory laws and practices in order to promote and protect the rights of women.

Article 9

Right to Participation in the Political

and Decision-Making Process

1. States Parties shall take specific positive action to promote participative governance and the equal participation of women in the political life of their countries through affirmative action, enabling national legislation and other measures to ensure that:

- a) women participate without any discrimination in all elections;
- b) women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes;
- c) women are equal partners with men at all levels of development and implementation of State policies and development programmes .

2. States Parties shall ensure increased and effective representation and participation of women at all levels of decision-making.

Article 10

Right to Peace

1. Women have the right to a peaceful existence and the right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the increased participation of women:

- a) in programmes of education for peace and a culture of peace;
- b) in the structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels;

in the local, national, regional, continental and international decision making structures to ensure physical, psychological, social and legal protection of asylum seekers, refugees, returnees and displaced persons, in particular women;

in all levels of the structures established for the management of camps and settlements for asylum seekers, refugees, returnees and displaced persons, in particular, women;

in all aspects of planning, formulation and implementation of post conflict reconstruction and rehabilitation.

3. States Parties shall take the necessary measures to reduce military expenditure significantly in favour of spending on social development in general, and the promotion of women in particular.

Article 11

Protection of Women in Armed Conflicts

States Parties undertake to respect and ensure respect for the rules of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflict situations which affect the population, particularly women.

States Parties shall, in accordance with the obligations incumbent upon them under the international humanitarian law, protect civilians including women, irrespective of the population to which they belong, in the event of armed conflict.

States Parties undertake to protect asylum seeking women, refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons, against all forms of violence, rape and other forms of sexual exploitation, and to ensure that such acts are considered war crimes, genocide and/or crimes against humanity and that their perpetrators are brought to justice before a competent criminal jurisdiction.

States Parties shall take all necessary measures to ensure that no child, especially girls under 18 years of age, take a direct part in hostilities and that no child is recruited as a soldier.

Article 12

Right to Education and Training

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to:

a) eliminate all forms of discrimination against women and guarantee equal opportunity and access in the sphere of education and training;

b) eliminate all stereotypes in textbooks, syllabuses and the media, that perpetuate such discrimination;

protect women, especially the girl-child from all forms of abuse, including sexual harassment in schools and other educational institutions and provide for sanctions against the perpetrators of such practices;

provide access to counselling and rehabilitation services to women who suffer abuses and sexual harassment;

integrate gender sensitisation and human rights education at all levels of education curricula including teacher training.

2. States Parties shall take specific positive action to:

a) promote literacy among women;

b) promote education and training for women at all levels and in all disciplines, particularly in the fields of science and technology;

c) promote the enrolment and retention of girls in schools and other training institutions and the organisation of programmes for women who leave school prematurely.

Article 13

Economic and Social Welfare Rights

States Parties shall adopt and enforce legislative and other measures to guarantee women equal opportunities in work and career advancement and other economic opportunities. In this respect, they shall:

- a) promote equality of access to employment;
- b) promote the right to equal remuneration for jobs of equal value for women and men;
- c) ensure transparency in recruitment, promotion and dismissal of women and combat and punish sexual harassment in the workplace;
- d) guarantee women the freedom to choose their occupation, and protect them from exploitation by their employers violating and exploiting their fundamental rights as recognised and guaranteed by conventions, laws and regulations in force;
- e) create conditions to promote and support the occupations and economic activities of women, in particular, within the informal sector;
establish a system of protection and social insurance for women working in the informal sector and sensitise them to adhere to it;
- g) introduce a minimum age for work and prohibit the employment of children below that age, and prohibit, combat and punish all forms of exploitation of children, especially the girl-child;
- h) take the necessary measures to recognise the economic value of the work of women in the home;
- i) guarantee adequate and paid pre and post-natal maternity leave in both the private and public sectors;
- j) ensure the equal application of taxation laws to women and men;
- k) recognise and enforce the right of salaried women to the same allowances and entitlements as those granted to salaried men for their spouses and children;
- l) recognise that both parents bear the primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of children and that this is a social function for which the State and the private sector have secondary responsibility;
- m) take effective legislative and administrative measures to prevent the exploitation and abuse of women in advertising and pornography.

Article 14

Health and Reproductive Rights

1. States Parties shall ensure that the right to health of women, including sexual and reproductive health is respected and promoted. This includes:

- the right to control their fertility;
- the right to decide whether to have children, the number of children and the spacing of children;
- c) the right to choose any method of contraception;
- d) the right to self-protection and to be protected against sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS;
- e) the right to be informed on one's health status and on the health status of one's partner, particularly if affected with sexually transmitted infections, including HIV/AIDS, in accordance with internationally recognised standards and best practices;
- the right to have family planning education.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to:

- a) provide adequate, affordable and accessible health services, including information, education and communication programmes to women especially those in rural areas;
- b) establish and strengthen existing pre-natal, delivery and post-natal health and nutritional services for women during pregnancy and while they are breast-feeding;
- c) protect the reproductive rights of women by authorising medical abortion in cases of sexual assault, rape, incest, and where the continued pregnancy endangers the mental and physical health of the mother or the life of the mother or the foetus.

Article 15

Right to Food Security

- a) provide women with access to clean drinking water, sources of domestic fuel, land, and the means of producing nutritious food;
- b) establish adequate systems of supply and storage to ensure food security.

Article 16

Right to Adequate Housing

Women shall have the right to equal access to housing and to acceptable living conditions in a healthy environment. To ensure this right, States Parties

shall grant to women, whatever their marital status, access to adequate housing.

Article 17

Right to Positive Cultural Context

1. Women shall have the right to live in a positive cultural context and to participate at all levels in the determination of cultural policies.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to enhance the participation of women in the formulation of cultural policies at all levels.

Article 18

Right to a Healthy and Sustainable Environment

1. Women shall have the right to live in a healthy and sustainable environment.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to:

a) ensure greater participation of women in the planning, management and preservation of the environment and the sustainable use of natural resources at all levels;

promote research and investment in new and renewable energy sources and appropriate technologies, including information technologies and facilitate women's access to, and participation in their control;

protect and enable the development of women's indigenous knowledge systems;

c) regulate the management, processing, storage and disposal of domestic waste;

ensure that proper standards are followed for the storage, transportation and disposal of toxic waste.

Article 19

Right to Sustainable Development

Women shall have the right to fully enjoy their right to sustainable development. In this connection, the States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to:

a) introduce the gender perspective in the national development planning procedures;

b) ensure participation of women at all levels in the conceptualisation, decision-making, implementation and evaluation of development policies and programmes;

promote women's access to and control over productive resources such as land and guarantee their right to property;

promote women's access to credit, training, skills development and extension services at rural and urban levels in order to provide women with a higher quality of life and reduce the level of poverty among women;

take into account indicators of human development specifically relating to women in the elaboration of development policies and programmes; and

ensure that the negative effects of globalisation and any adverse effects of the implementation of trade and economic policies and programmes are reduced to the minimum for women.

Article 20

Widows' Rights

States Parties shall take appropriate legal measures to ensure that widows enjoy all human rights through the implementation of the following provisions:

a) that widows are not subjected to inhuman, humiliating or degrading treatment;

b) a widow shall automatically become the guardian and custodian of her children, after the death of her husband, unless this is contrary to the interests and the welfare of the children;

c) a widow shall have the right to remarry, and in that event, to marry the person of her choice.

Article 21

Right to Inheritance

1. A widow shall have the right to an equitable share in the inheritance of the property of her husband. A widow shall have the right to continue to live in the matrimonial house. In case of remarriage, she shall retain this right if the house belongs to her or she has inherited it.

2. Women and men shall have the right to inherit, in equitable shares, their parents' properties.

Article 22

Special Protection of Elderly Women

The States Parties undertake to:

provide protection to elderly women and take specific measures commensurate with their physical, economic and social needs as well as their access to employment and professional training;

ensure the right of elderly women to freedom from violence, including sexual abuse, discrimination based on age and the right to be treated with dignity.

Article 23

Special Protection of Women with Disabilities

The States Parties undertake to:

ensure the protection of women with disabilities and take specific measures commensurate with their physical, economic and social needs to facilitate their access to employment, professional and vocational training as well as their participation in decision-making;

ensure the right of women with disabilities to freedom from violence, including sexual abuse, discrimination based on disability and the right to be treated with dignity.

Article 24

Special Protection of Women in Distress

The States Parties undertake to:

ensure the protection of poor women and women heads of families including women from marginalized population groups and provide them an environment suitable to their condition and their special physical, economic and social needs;

ensure the right of pregnant or nursing women or women in detention by providing them with an environment which is suitable to their condition and the right to be treated with dignity.

Article 25

Remedies

States Parties shall undertake to:

provide for appropriate remedies to any woman whose rights or freedoms, as herein recognised, have been violated;

ensure that such remedies are determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities, or by any other competent authority provided for by law.

Article 26

Implementation and Monitoring

States Parties shall ensure the implementation of this Protocol at national level, and in their periodic reports submitted in accordance with Article 62 of

the African Charter, indicate the legislative and other measures undertaken for the full realisation of the rights herein recognised.

States Parties undertake to adopt all necessary measures and in particular shall provide budgetary and other resources for the full and effective implementation of the rights herein recognised.

Article 27

Interpretation

The African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights shall be seized with matters of interpretation arising from the application or implementation of this Protocol.

Article 28

Signature, Ratification and Accession

1. This Protocol shall be open for signature, ratification and accession by the States Parties, in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures.

2. The instruments of ratification or accession shall be deposited with the Chairperson of the Commission of the AU.

Article 29

Entry into Force

1. This Protocol shall enter into force thirty (30) days after the deposit of the fifteenth (15) instrument of ratification.

2. For each State Party that accedes to this Protocol after its coming into force, the Protocol shall come into force on the date of deposit of the instrument of accession.

3. The Chairperson of the Commission of the AU shall notify all Member States of the coming into force of this Protocol.

Article 30

Amendment and Revision

1. Any State Party may submit proposals for the amendment or revision of this Protocol.

2. Proposals for amendment or revision shall be submitted, in writing, to the Chairperson of the Commission of the AU who shall transmit the same to the States Parties within thirty (30) days of receipt thereof.

3. The Assembly, upon advice of the African Commission, shall examine these proposals within a period of one (1) year following notification of States Parties, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 2 of this article.

4. Amendments or revision shall be adopted by the Assembly by a simple majority.

5. The amendment shall come into force for each State Party, which has accepted it thirty (30) days after the Chairperson of the Commission of the AU has received notice of the acceptance.

Article 31

Status of the Present Protocol

None of the provisions of the present Protocol shall affect more favourable provisions for the realisation of the rights of women contained in the national legislation of States Parties or in any other regional, continental or international conventions, treaties or agreements applicable in these States Parties.

Article 32

Transitional Provisions

Pending the establishment of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights, the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights shall be the seized with matters of interpretation arising from the application and implementation of this Protocol.

Adopted by the 2nd Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the Union
Maputo, 11 July 2003

Annex 10

The African Union - African Youth Charter Adopted Forum 21

States Parties shall ensure that young men and young women enjoy equal rights to own property.

Every young person shall have the right to social, economic, political and cultural development with due regard to their freedom and identity and in equal enjoyment of the common heritage of mankind.

States Parties shall encourage youth organizations to lead youth programmes and to ensure the exercise of the right to development.

States Parties shall:

Encourage the media to disseminate information that will be of economic, political, social and cultural benefit to youth;

Promote the development of youth media for the dissemination of information to young people;

Encourage international co-operation in the production, exchange and dissemination of information from both national and international sources that are of economic, social and cultural value to youth;

Provide access to information and education and training for young people to learn their rights and responsibilities, to be schooled in democratic processes, citizenship, decision-making, governance and leadership such that they develop the technical skills and confidence to participate in these processes.

Every young person shall have the right to participate in all spheres of society.

States Parties shall take the following measures to promote active youth participation in society:

States Parties shall:

Guarantee the participation of youth in parliament and other decision making bodies in accordance with the prescribed laws;

Facilitate the creation or strengthening of platforms for youth participation in decision-making at local, national, regional, and continental levels of governance;

Ensure equal access to young men and young women to participate in decision-making and in fulfilling civic duties;

Give priority to policies and programmes including youth advocacy and peer-to-peer programmes for marginalised youth, such as out-of-school and out of work youth, to offer them the opportunity and motivation to re-integrate into mainstream society;

Provide access to information such that young people become aware of their rights and of opportunities to participate in decision-making and civic life;

Institute measures to professionalize youth work and introduce relevant training programmes in higher education and other such training institutions;

Provide technical and financial support to build the institutional capacity of youth organisations;

Institute policy and programmes of youth voluntarism at local, national,

regional and international levels as an important form of youth participation and as a means of peer-to-peer training;

Provide access to information and services that will empower youth to become aware of their rights and responsibilities;

Include youth representatives as part of delegations to ordinary sessions and other relevant meetings to broaden channels of communication and enhance the discussion of youth related issues.

Every State Parties shall develop a comprehensive and coherent national youth policy.

The policy shall be cross-sectoral in nature considering the interrelatedness of the challenges facing young people;

The development of a national youth policy shall be informed by extensive consultation with young people and cater for their active participation in decision-making at all levels of governance in issues concerning youth and society as a whole;

A youth perspective shall be integrated and mainstreamed into all planning and decision-making as well as programme development. The appointment of youth focal points in government structures shall enable this process;

Mechanisms to address these youth challenges shall be framed within the national development framework of the country;

The policy shall provide guidelines on the definition of youth adopted and specify subgroups that shall be targeted for development;

The policy shall advocate equal opportunities for young men and for young women;

A baseline evaluation or situation analysis shall inform the policy on the priority issues for youth development;

The policy shall be adopted by parliament and enacted into law;

A national youth coordinating mechanism shall be set up and shall provide a platform as well as serve as a linking agent for youth organisations to participate in youth policy development as well as the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of related programmes;

National programmes of action shall be developed that are time bound and that are connected to an implementation and evaluation strategy for which indicators shall be outlined;

Such a programme of action shall be accompanied by adequate and sustained budgetary allocation.

Every young person shall have the right to education of good quality.

States Parties shall recognise the right of young people to a standard of living adequate for their holistic development.

Every young person shall have the right to gainful employment.

Forum 21

Every young person shall have the right to enjoy the best attainable state of physical, mental and spiritual health.

In view of the important role of youth in promoting peace and non-violence and the lasting physical and psychological scars that result from involvement in violence, armed conflict and war, States Parties shall: Strengthen the capacity of young people and youth organisations in peace building, conflict prevention and conflict resolution through the promotion of intercultural learning, civic education, tolerance, human rights education and democracy, mutual respect for cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, the importance of dialogue and cooperation, responsibility, solidarity and international cooperation.

Every young person accused or found guilty of having infringed the penal law shall have the right to be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.

States Parties shall recognise the vested interest of young people in protecting the natural environment as the inheritors of the environment.

States Parties shall take steps to promote and protect the morals and traditional values recognised by the community.

States Parties shall recognise the right of young people to live anywhere in the world.

Young people shall have the right to rest and leisure and to engage in play and recreational activities that are part of a healthy lifestyle as well as to participate freely in sport, physical education drama, the arts, music and other forms of cultural life.

States Parties acknowledge the need to eliminate discrimination against girls and young women according to obligations stipulated in various international, regional and national human rights conventions and instruments designed to protect and promote women's rights.

States Parties recognise the right of mentally and physically challenged youth to special care and shall ensure that they have equal and effective access to education, training, health care services, employment, sport, physical education and cultural and recreational activities.

States Parties shall work towards eliminating any obstacles that may have

negative implications for the full integration of mentally and physically challenged youth into society including the provision of appropriate infrastructure and services to facilitate easy mobility.

Every young person shall have responsibilities towards his family and society, the State, and the international community.

Youth shall have the duty to:

Become the custodians of their own development;

Protect and work for family life and cohesion;

Have full respect for parents and elders and assist them anytime in cases of need in the context of positive African values;

Partake fully in citizenship duties including voting, decision making and governance;

Engage in peer-to-peer education to promote youth development in areas such as literacy, use of information and communication technology, HIV/ AIDS prevention, violence prevention and peace building;

Contribute to the promotion of the economic development of States Parties and Africa by placing their physical and intellectual abilities at its service;

Espouse an honest work ethic and reject and expose corruption;

Work towards a society free from substance abuse, violence, coercion, crime, degradation, exploitation and intimidation;

Promote tolerance, understanding, dialogue, consultation and respect for others regardless of age, race, ethnicity, colour, gender, ability, religion, status or political affiliation;

Defend democracy, the rule of law and all human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Encourage a culture of voluntarism and human rights protection as well as participation in civil society activities;

Promote patriotism towards and unity and cohesion of Africa;

Promote, preserve and respect African traditions and cultural heritage and pass on this legacy to future generations;

Become the vanguard of re-presenting cultural heritage in languages and in forms to which youth are able to relate;

Protect the environment and conserve nature.

Annex 11

Organisation of African Unity Organisation De L' Unite Africaine Cab/Leg/24.1

African Convention On The Conservation Of Nature And Natural Resources

PREAMBLE

We the Heads of State and Government of Independent African States,

FULLY CONSCIOUS that soil, water, flora and faunal resources constitute a capital of vital importance to mankind;

CONFIRMING, as we accepted upon declaring our adherence to the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, that we know that it is our duty “to harness the natural and human resources of our continent for the total advancement of our peoples in spheres of human endeavour”;

FULLY CONSCIOUS of the ever-growing importance of natural resources from an economic, nutritional, scientific, educational, cultural and aesthetic point of view;

CONSCIOUS of the dangers which threaten some of these irreplaceable assets;

ACCEPTING that the utilization of the natural resources must aim at satisfying the needs of man according to the carrying capacity of the environment;

DESIROUS of undertaking individual and joint action for the conservation, utilization and development of these assets by establishing and maintaining their rational utilization for the present and future welfare of mankind;

CONVINCED that one of the most appropriate means of achieving this end is to bring into force a convention;

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

Article I

The contracting States hereby establish an AFRICAN CONVENTION ON THE CONSERVATION OF NATURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES. CAB/LEG/24.1

Article II

Fundamental Principle

The contracting States shall undertake to adopt the measures necessary to ensure conservation, utilization and development of soil, water, flora and faunal resources in accordance with scientific principles and with due regard to the best interests of the people.

Article III

Definitions

For the purposes of the present Convention, the meaning of the following expressions shall be as defined below:

(a) “Natural Resources” means renewable resources, that is soil, water, flora and fauna;

(b) “Specimen” means an individual example of a species of wild animal or wild plant or part of a wild plant;

(c) “Trophy” means any dead animal specimen or part thereof whether included in a manufactured or processed object or otherwise dealt with, unless it has lost its original identity; also nests, eggs and eggshells;

(d) “Conservation area” means any protected natural resource area, whether it be a strict natural reserve, a national park or a special reserve.

(1) “Strict nature reserve” means an area:

(i) under State control and the boundaries of which may not be altered nor any portion alienated except by the competent legislative authority;

(ii) throughout which any form of hunting or fishing, any undertaking connected with forestry, agriculture or mining, any grazing, any excavation or prospecting, drilling, levelling of the ground or construction, any work tending to alter the configuration of the soil or the character of the vegetation, any water pollution and, generally, any act likely to harm or disturb the fauna or flora, including introduction of zoological or botanical species, whether indigenous or imported, wild or domesticated, are strictly forbidden;

(iii) where it shall be forbidden to reside, enter, traverse or camp, and where it shall be forbidden to fly over at low altitude, without a special written permit from the competent authority, and in which scientific investigations (including removal of animals and plants in order to maintain an ecosystem) may only be undertaken by permission of the competent authority.

(2) “national park” means an area:

- (i) under State control and the boundaries of which may not be altered or any portion alienated except by the competent legislative authority;
- (ii) exclusively set aside for the propagation, protection, conservation and management of vegetation and wild animals as well as for the protection of sites, land-spaces or geological formations of particular scientific or aesthetic value, for the benefit and enjoyment of the general public; and
- (iii) in which the killing, hunting and capture of animals and the destruction or collection of plants are prohibited except for scientific and management purposes and on the condition that such measures are taken under the direction or control of the competent authority;
- (iv) covering any aquatic environment to which all of the provisions of section (b) (1-3) above are applicable.

The activities prohibited in strict nature reserve under the provisions of section (a) (2) of paragraph (4) of this article are equally prohibited in national parks except in so far as they are necessary to enable the park authorities to implement the provisions of section (2) of this paragraph, by applying, for example, appropriate management practices, and to enable the public to visit these parks; however, sport fishing may be practiced with the authorization and under the control of the competent authority;

(3) “special reserve” means other protected areas such as:

- (i) “game reserve” which shall denote an area
 - (a) set aside for the conservation, management and propagation of wild animal life and the protection and management of its habitat;
 - (b) within which the hunting, killing or capture of fauna shall be prohibited except by or under the direction or control of the reserve authorities;
 - (c) where settlement and other human activities shall be controlled or prohibited.
- (ii) “partial reserve” or “sanctuary” which shall denote an area
 - (a) set aside to protect characteristic wildlife and especially bird communities, or to protect particularly threatened animal or plant species and especially those listed in the Annex to this Convention, together with the biotopes essential for their survival;

(b) in which all other interests and activities shall be subordinated to this end.

(iii) “soil” “water” or “forest” reserve shall denote areas set aside to protect such resources.

Article IV

Soil

The contracting States shall take effective measures for conservation and improvement of the soil and shall in particular combat erosion and misuse of the soil. To this end:

(a) they shall establish land-use plans based on scientific investigations (ecological, pedagogical, economic, and sociological) and, in particular, classification of land-use capability;

(b) they shall, when implementing agricultural practices and agrarian reforms,

(1) improve soil conservation and introduce improved farming methods, which ensure long-term productivity of the land;

(2) control erosion caused by various forms of land-use which may lead to loss of vegetation cover.

Article V

Water

1. The contracting States shall establish policies for conservation, utilization and development of underground and surface water, and shall endeavour to guarantee for their populations a sufficient and continuous supply of suitable water, taking appropriate measures with due regard to –

(a) the study of water cycles and the investigation of each catchment area;

(b) the co-ordination and planning of water resources development projects;

(c) the administration and control of all water utilization; and

(d) prevention and control of water pollution.

2. Where surface or underground water resources are shared by two or more of the contracting States, the latter shall act in consultation, and if the need arises, set up inter-State Commissions to study and resolve problems arising from the joint use of these resources, and for the joint development and conservation thereof.

Article VI

Flora

1. The contracting States shall take all necessary measures for the protection of flora and to ensure its best utilization and development. To this end the Contracting States shall:

(a) adopt scientifically-based conservation, utilization and management plans of forests and rangeland, taking into account the social and economic needs of the States concerned, the importance of the vegetation cover for the maintenance of the water balance of an area, the productivity of soils and the habitat requirements of the fauna;

(b) observe section (a) above by paying particular attention to controlling bush fires, forest exploitation, land clearing for cultivation, and over-grazing by domestic and wild animals;

(c) set aside areas for forest reserve and carry out afforestation programmes where necessary;

(d) limitation of forest grazing to season and intensities that will not prevent forest

regeneration; and

(e) establish botanical gardens to perpetuate plant species of particular interest.

2. The Contracting States also shall undertake the conservation of plant species or communities, which are threatened and/or of special scientific or aesthetic value by ensuring that they are included in conservation areas.

Article VII

Faunal Resources

1. The Contracting States shall ensure conservation, wise use and development of faunal resources and their environment, within the framework of land-use planning and of economic and social development. Management shall be carried out in accordance with plans based on scientific principles, and to that end the Contracting States shall:

(a) manage wildlife populations inside designated areas according to the objectives of such areas and also manage exploitable wildlife populations outside such areas for an optimum sustained yield, compatible with and complementary to other land uses; and

(b) manage aquatic environments, whether in fresh, brackish or coastal water, with a view to minimise deleterious effects of any water and land use practice which might adversely affect aquatic habitats.

2. The Contracting States shall adopt adequate legislation on hunting, capture and

fishing, under which:

(a) the issue of permits is properly regulated;

(b) unauthorized methods are prohibited;

(c) the following methods of hunting, capture and fishing are prohibited:

(1) any method liable to cause a mass destruction of wild animals;

(2) the use of drugs; poisons, poisoned weapons or poisoned baits;

(3) the use of explosives;

4) the following methods of hunting and capture are particularly prohibited:

(i) the use of mechanically propelled vehicles;

(ii) the use of fire;

(iii) the use of fire arms capable of firing more than one round at each pull of the trigger;

(iv) hunting or capture at night;

(v) the use of missiles containing detonators.

(d) the following methods of hunting or capture are as far as possible prohibited:

(1) the use of nets and stockades;

(2) the use of concealed traps, pits, snares, set-gun traps, deadfalls, and hunting from a blind or hide.

(e) with a view to as rational use as possible of game meat the abandonment by hunters of carcasses of animals, which represent a food resource, is prohibited.

Capture of animals with the aid of drugs or mechanically-propelled vehicles, or hunting or capture by night if carried out by, or under the control of, the competent authority shall nevertheless be exempted from the prohibitions under (c) above.

Article VIII

Protected Species

1. The Contracting States recognize that it is important and urgent to accord a special protection to those animal and plant species that are threatened with extinction, or which may become so, and to the habitat necessary to their survival. Where such a species is represented only in the territory of one Contracting State, that State has a particular responsibility for its protection. These species which are, or may be listed, according to the

degree of protection that shall be given to them are placed in Class A or B of the Annex to this Convention, and shall be protected by Contracting States as follows:

(a) species in Class A shall be totally protected throughout the entire territory of the Contracting States; the hunting, killing, capture or collection of specimens shall be permitted only on the authorization in each case of the highest competent authority and only if required in the national interest or for scientific purposes; and

(b) species in Class B shall be totally protected, but may be hunted, killed, captured or collected under special authorization granted by the competent authority.

2. The competent authority of each Contracting State shall examine the necessity of applying the provisions of this article to species not listed in the annex, in order to conserve the indigenous flora and fauna of their respective countries. Such additional species shall be placed in Class A or B by the State concerned, according to its specific requirements.

Article IX

Traffic in Specimens and Trophies

1. In the case of animal species to which Article VIII does not apply the Contracting

States shall:

(a) regulate trade in and transport of specimens and trophies;

(b) control the application of these regulations in such a way as to prevent trade in specimens and trophies which have been illegally captured or killed or obtained.

2. In the case of plant and animal species to which Article VIII paragraph (1) applies, the

Contracting States shall:

(a) take all measures similar to those in paragraph (1)

(b) make the export of such specimens and trophies subject to an authorization:

(1) additional to that required for their capture, killing or collecting by Article VIII;

(2) which indicates their destination;

(3) which shall not be given unless the specimens or trophies have been obtained legally;

(4) which shall be examined prior to exportation;

(5) which shall be on a standard form, as may be arranged under Article

XVI.

(c) make the import and transit of such specimens and trophies subject to the presentation of the authorization required under section (b) above, with due provision for the confiscation of specimens and trophies exported illegally, without prejudice to the application of other penalties.

Article X

Conservation Areas

1. The Contracting States shall maintain and extend where appropriate, within their territory and where applicable in their territorial waters, the Conservation areas existing at the time of entry into force of the present convention and, preferably within the framework of land use planning programmes, assess the necessity of establishing additional conservation areas in order to:

(a) protect those ecosystems which are most representative of and particularly those which are in any respect peculiar to their territories;

(b) ensure conservation of all species and more particularly of those listed or may be listed in the annex to this convention.

Article XV

Organization of National Conservation Services

Each Contracting State shall establish, if it has not already done so, a single agency empowered to deal with all matters covered by this Convention, but, where this is not possible a co-ordinating machinery shall be established for this purpose.

Article XVI

Inter-State Co-operation

1. The Contracting States shall co-operate:

(a) whenever such co-operation is necessary to give effect to the provisions of this convention, and

(b) whenever any national measure is likely to affect the natural resources of any other State.

2. The Contracting States shall supply the Organization of African Unity with:

(a) the text of laws, decrees, regulations and instructions in force in their territories, which are intended to ensure the implementation of this Convention;

(b) reports on the results achieved in applying the provisions of this Convention;

and

(c) all the information necessary for the complete documentation of matters dealt with by this Convention if requested.

3. If so requested by Contracting States, the Organization of African Unity shall organize any meeting which may be necessary to dispose of any matters covered by this Convention. Requests for such meetings must be made by at least three of the Contracting States and be approved by two thirds of the States which it is proposed should participate in such meetings.

4. Any expenditure arising from this Convention, which devolves upon the Organization of African Unity shall be included in its regular budget, unless shared by the Contracting States or otherwise defrayed.

Article XVII

Provision for Exceptions

1. The provisions of this Convention shall not affect the responsibilities of Contracting States concerning:

- (a) the paramount interest of the State;
- (b) “force majeure”;
- (c) defence of human life.

2. The provisions of this Convention shall not prevent Contracting States:

- (a) in time of famine;
- (b) for the protection of public health;
- (c) in defence of property;

to enact measures contrary to the provisions of the Convention, provided their application is precisely defined in respect of aim, time and place.

Article XVIII

Settlement of Disputes

Any dispute between the Contracting States relating to the interpretation or application of this Convention which cannot be settled by negotiation, shall at the request of any party be submitted to the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration of the Organization of African Unity.

Article XIX

Signature and Ratification

1. This Convention shall be open for signature immediately after being approved by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity.

2. This Convention shall be ratified by each of the Contracting States. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity.

Article XX

Reservations

1. At the time of signature, ratification or accession, any State may declare its acceptance of this Convention in part only, provided that such reservation may not apply to the provisions of Articles II – XI.

2. Reservations made in conformity with the preceding paragraph shall be deposited together with the instruments of ratification or accession.

3. Any Contracting State which has formulated a reservation in conformity with the preceding paragraph may at any time withdraw it by notifying the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity.

Article XXI

Entry into force

1. This Convention shall come into force on the thirtieth day following the date of deposit of the fourth instrument of ratification or accession with the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, who shall inform participating States accordingly.

2. In the case of a State ratifying or acceding to the Convention after the depositing of the fourth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall come into force on the thirtieth day after the deposit by such State of its instrument of ratification or accession.

3. The London Convention of 1933 or any other Convention on the conservation of flora and fauna in their natural state shall cease to have effect in States in which this Convention has come into force.

Article XXII

Accession

1. After the date of approval specified in Article XIX paragraph (1), this Convention shall be open to accession by any independent and sovereign African State.

2. The instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity.

Article XXIII

Denunciation

1. Any Contracting State may denounce this Convention by notification in writing addressed to the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity.

2. Such denunciation shall take effect, for such a State, one year after the date of receipt

of its notification by the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of

African Unity.

3. No denunciation shall, however, be made before the expiry of a period of five years from the date at which for the State concerned this Convention comes into force.

Article XXIV

Revision

1. After the expiry of a period of five years from the date of entry into force of this Convention, any Contracting State may at any time make a request for the revision of part or the whole of this Convention by notification in writing addressed to the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity.

2. In the event of such a request the appropriate organ of the Organization of African Unity shall deal with the matter in accordance with the provision of sections 3 and 4 of Article XVI of this Convention.

3. (i) At the request of one or more Contracting States and notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs (1) and (2) of this Article, the annex to the Convention may be revised or added to by the appropriate organ of the Organization of African Unity.

(ii) Such revision or addition shall come into force three months after the approval by the appropriate organ of the Organization of African Unity.

Article XXV

Final provisions

The original of this Convention of which both the English and the French texts are authentic, shall be deposited with the Administrative Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, WE, the Heads of State and Government of independent African States, assembled at Algiers, Algeria on 15th September 1968 have signed this Convention.

1. Algeria (Signed)
2. Botswana (Signed)
3. Burundi (Signed)
4. Cameroon (Signed)
5. Central African Republic (Signed)
6. Chad (Signed)
7. Congo (Brazzaville) (Signed)
8. Democratic Republic Of Congo (Signed)
9. Dahomey (Signed)
10. Ethiopia (Signed)
11. Gabon (Signed)
12. Gambia (Signed)
13. Ghana (Signed)
14. Guinea (Signed)
15. Ivory Coast (Signed)
16. Kenya (Signed)

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17. Lesotho (Signed)
18. Liberia (Signed)
19. Libya (Signed)
20. Madagascar (Signed)
21. Malawi (Signed)
22. Mali (Signed)
23. Mauritania (Signed)
24. Mauritius (Signed)
25. Morocco (Signed)
26. Niger (Signed)
27. Nigeria (Signed)
28. Rwanda (Signed)
29. Senegal (Signed)
30. Sierra Leone (Signed)
31. Somalia (Signed)
32. Sudan (Signed)
33. Swaziland (Signed)

34. Togo (Signed)
35. Tunisia (Signed)
36. Uganda (Signed)
37. United Arab Republic (Signed)
38. United Republic Of Tanzania (Signed)
39. Upper Volta (Signed)
40. Zambia (Signed)

LIST OF PROTECTED SPECIES

Class A

Mammalia Mammals

Primates Primates

Lemuroidea All Malagasy lemuroids

Macaca sylvana Barbary ape

Theropithecus gelada Gelada baboon

Cercocebus galeritus galeritus Tana River mangabey

Cercopithecus diana Diana monkey

Colobus badius kirkii Zanzibar red colobus

Colobus badius rufomitratus Tana River red colobus

Colobus badius gordonorum Uhehe red colobus

Colobus verus Green colobus

Pan troglodytes Chimpanzee

Pan paniscus Pygmy chimpanzee

Gorilla gorilla Gorilla

Rodentia Rodentia

Epixerus spp. African palm squirrels

Carnivora Carnivora

Canis simensis Simenian jackal

Osbornictis piscivora Water civet

Fossa fossa Malagasy civet

Eupleres spp. Falanouc

Felis nigripes Black-footed cat

Felis aurata African golden cat

Acinonyx jubatus Cheetah

Pinnipedia Pinnipedia

Monachus monachus Mediterranean monk seal

Sirenia Sirenia

Dugong dugon Dugong
 Trichechus senegalensis West African manatee
 Perissodactyla Perissodactyla
 Equus asinus Wild ass
 Equus zebra zebra Cape mountain zebra
 Ceratotherium simum Square-lipped rhinoceros
 Artiodactyla Artiodactyla
 Choeropsis liberiensis Pygmy hippopotamus
 Cervus elaphus barbarus Barbary stag
 Okapia johnstoni Okapi
 Taurotragus derbianus derbianus Western giant eland
 Cephalophus jentinki Jentink's duiker
 Hippotragus niger variani Giant sable antelope
 Alcelaphus buselaphus tora Tora Hartebeest
 Alcelaphus buselaphus swaynoi Swayne's hartebeest
 Nesotragus moschatus moschatus Zanzibar suni
 Dorcatragus megalotis Beira antelope
 Gazella dorcas neglecta Algerian dorcas gazelle
 Gazella dorcas massaesyla Moroccan dorcas gazelle
 Gazella gazella cuvieri Cuvier's gazelle
 Gazella leptoceros leptoceros Slender-horned gazelle
 Gazella pelzelni Pelseln's gazelle
 Gazella spekei Speke's gazelle
 Gazella dama mhorh Mhorh gazelle
 Gazella dama lazanoi Rio de Oro dama gazelle
 Capra walie Walia ibex
 Aves Birds
 Pelecanidae All pelicans
 Ciconiidae, Scopidae et Ardeidae All storks, hammerkops, ibises,
 spoonbills,
 herons, egrets and bitterns
 Phoenicopteridae All Flamingos
 Sagittarius serpentarius Secretary bird
 Aegyptius, Gyps, Pseudogyps, Torgos All vultures
 Trionocephus, Neophron et Necrosyrtes Lammergeyer
 Gypaetus barbatus Crowned hawk-eagle
 Stephanoaetus coronatus Teita falcon
 Falco fasciatus White-headed guineafowl
 Agelastes meleagrides Congo peacock

Afropavo congensis All cranes
 Gruidae All ground bornbills
Bucorvus spp. White-necked rockfowl
Picarthartes oreas Grey-necked rockfowl
Warsanglia johannis
 Reptilia Reptiles
 Cheloniidae, Dermochelyidae All marine turtles
Testudo gigantea Giant tortoise
Testudo yniphora Angulated tortoise
Testudo radiata *Testudo radiata*
Macroscinuous coctei Cape Verde skink
Gecko uroplates Leaf-tailed gecko
Casarea dussumieri Plate Island boa
Bolioria multicarinata Ronde Island boa
Acrantophis madagascariensi *Acrantophis madagascariensi*
Acrantophis dumerili *Acrantophis dumerili*
 Amphibia Amphibians
Bufo supereiliaris Cameroon toad
Nectophrynoides occidentalis Viviparous toad
 Pisces Fishes
Caecobarbus, *Cacomastacembelus* Blind fishes
Eilichtys, *Typhleotris*
Phreatichthys, *Uegitglanis*
 Plantae Plants
Welwitschia bainesii *Welwitschia*
Encephalartos laurentanus *Encephalartos*
Encephalartos septentrionalis *Encephalartos*

Class B

Mammalia Mammals
 Insectivora Insectivora
 All other shrews of the family
 Potamogalidae
 Primates Primates
 Lorisidae All prosimians of the family
 Primates Lorisidae
 All monkeys except common baboons
 Pholidota Pholidota
Manis gigantea Giant pangolin

Manis temmincki Cape pangolin
Manis tricuspis Tree pangolin
Manis longicaudata Long-tailed tree pangolin
Carnivora Carnivora
Lutrinae All others of the sub-family Lutrinae
Proteles cristatus Aardwolf
Hyaena brunnea Brown hyaena
Hyaena hyaena *hyaena barbara* Barbary hyaena
Felis caracal Caracal
Felis lynx Lynx
Felis serval Serval
Felis leo Lion
Panthera pardus Leopard
Tenrecidae Madagascar Tenrecs (all species) Fossa
Cryptoprocta ferax Fossa
Galidiinae All Malagasy mongooses of the sub-family
Galidiinae
Tubulidentata Tubulidentata
Orycteropus afer Aardvark
Proboscidea Proboscidea
Loxodonta africana Elephant
Perissodactyla Perissodactyla
Equus zebra *zebra burchellianae* Hartmann's mountain zebra
Equus burchelli Burchell's zebra
Equus grevyi Grevy's zebra
Diceros bicornis Black rhinoceros
Hylochoerus meinertzhageni Artiodactyla
Hippopotamus amphibius Giant forest hog
Hyemoschus aquaticus Hippopotamus
Giraffa camelopardalis Water chevrotain
Tragelaphus angasi Giraffe
Tragelaphus buxtoni Nyala
Tragelaphus spekei Mountain nyala
Tragelaphus imberbis Situtunga
Tragelaphus strepsiceros Lesser Kudu
Taurotragus oryx Greater Kudu
Taurotragus derbianus Eland
Boocercus eurycerus Giant eland
Syncerus caffer Bongo
Cephalophus adersi Buffalo

Cephalophus ogilbyi Zanzibar duiker
Cephalophus silvicultor Ogilby's duiker
Cephalophus spadix Yellow-baked duiker
Cephalophus zebra Abbott's duiker
Kobus ellipsiprymnus Banded duiker
Kobus defassa Waterbuck
Kobus leche Defassa waterbuck
Kobus megaceros Lechwe
Adenota kob Nile lechwe
Kob
Redunca arundinum Reedbuck
Redunca fulvorufula Mountain reedbuck
Redunca equinus Bohor reedbuck
Hippotragus equinus Roan antelope
Hippotragus niger Sable antelope
Oryx gazella Oryx
Oryx tao Scimitar-horned oryx
Adax nasomaculatus Addax
Damaliscus lunatus Tsessebe (Sassaby)
Damaliscus korrigum Topi
Damaliscus dorcas dorcas Bontebok
Damaliscus dorcas phillipsi Blesbok
Damaliscus hunteri Hunter's hartebeest
Alcelaphus buselaphus Hartebeest
Alcelaphus lichtensteini Lichtenstein's hartebeest
Connochaetes gnou Black wildebeest
Connochaetes taurinus Wildebeest
Oreotragus oreotragus Klipspringer
Ourebia spp. Oribis (All species)
Neotragus pygmaeus Royal antelope
Neotragus batesi Dwarf antelope
Madoqua kirki Damara dikdik
Aepyceros melampus Impala
Ammolorcas clarkei Dibatag
Litodranus walleri Gerenuk
Gazella dorcas Dorcas gazelle
Gazella rufifrons Korin gazelle
Gazella tilonura Houglin's gazelle
Gazella dama Dama gazelle

Gazella scommerringi Doemmerring's gazelle
 Capra ibex nubiana Nubian ibex
 Ammotragus lervia Barbary sheep (Aoudad)
 Aves Birds
 Struthio camelus Ostrich
 Falconiformes et Strigiformes All birds of prey and all owls not in
 Otidae All bustards
 Reptilia Reptiles
 Crocodylia All crocodiles

Annex 12

African Union; Union Africaine; União Africana

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia , Telephone 251-1-517700, Fax 251-1-517844,
 Email general@africa-union.org, Website www.africa-union.org

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08/06/2010

ANNEX 12. CONSTITUTION FOR THE AFRICAN CIVIL AVIATION COMMISSION – AFCAC

(REVISED VERSION)

LIST OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE SIGNED,
 RATIFIED/ACCEDED TO THE

CONSTITUTION DE LA COMMISSION AFRICAINE DE
 L'AVIATION CIVILE –

CAFAC (VERSION RÉVISÉE)

LISTE DES PAYS QUI ONT SIGNE, RATIFIE/ADHERE

NO. COUNTRY/PAYS SIGNATURE

DATE OF/DE DATE OF/DE

RATIFICATION/

ACCESSION

DATE DEPOSITED/

DATE DE DEPOT

1 Algeria - - -

2 Angola - - -

3 Benin 11/05/2010 - -

4 Botswana - - -

5 Burkina Faso 11/05/2010 - -
 6 Burundi - - -
 7 Cameroon - - -
 8 Central African Rep. 13/05/2010 - -
 9 Cape Verde - - -
 10 Chad 11/05/2010 - -
 11 Côte d'Ivoire 11/05/2010 - -
 12 Comoros 11/05/2010 - -
 13 Congo 11/05/2010 - -
 14 Djibouti - - -
 15 Democratic Rep. of Congo - - -
 16 Egypt 11/05/2010 - -
 17 Equatorial Guinea - - -
 18 Eritrea - - -
 19 Ethiopia 11/05/2010 - -
 20 Gabon 11/05/2010 - -
 21 Gambia - - -
 22 Ghana 11/05/2010 - -
 23 Guinea-Bissau - - -
 24 Guinea - - -
 25 Kenya - - -
 26 Libya - - -
 27 Lesotho - - -
 2/2
 08/06/2010
 28 Liberia - - -
 29 Madagascar - - -
 30 Mali 11/05/2010 - -
 31 Malawi - - -
 32 Mozambique - - -
 33 Mauritania - - -
 34 Mauritius - - -
 35 Namibia 11/05/2010 - -
 36 Nigeria - - -
 37 Niger 13/05/2010 - -
 38 Rwanda 12/05/2010 - -
 39 South Africa - - -
 40 Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic - - -
 41 Senegal 11/05/2010 - -

42 Seychelles - - -
 43 Sierra Leone - - -
 44 Somalia 15/03/2010 - -
 45 Sao Tome & Principe - - -
 46 Sudan - - -
 47 Swaziland - - -
 48 Tanzania 11/05/2010 - -
 49 Togo 11/05/2010 - -
 50 Tunisia - - -
 51 Uganda 12/05/2010 - -
 52 Zambia 11/05/2010 - -
 53 Zimbabwe - - -

of Countries

of Signature # of Ratification # of Deposit

53

21 0 0

Note:

- Adopted in Dakar, Senegal, on 16th December 2009.
 - This Convention shall provisionally enter into force upon signature by fifteen (15) African States and shall definitively enter into force upon ratification by fifteen (15) African States.
- Record Count: 53 DOCUMENTCODE = '0039'

Annex 13

Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa

PREAMBLE

We, the Heads of State and Government assembled in the city of Addis Ababa, from 6-10 September 1969,

1. Noting with concern the constantly increasing numbers of refugees in Africa and desirous of finding ways and means of alleviating their misery and suffering as well as providing them with a better life and future,
2. Recognizing the need for and essentially humanitarian approach towards solving the problems of refugees,

3. Aware, however, that refugee problems are a source of friction among many Member States, and desirous of eliminating the source of such discord,

4. Anxious to make a distinction between a refugee who seeks a peaceful and normal life and a person fleeing his country for the sole purpose of fomenting subversion from outside,

5. Determined that the activities of such subversive elements should be discouraged, in accordance with the Declaration on the Problem of Subversion and Resolution on the Problem of Refugees adopted at Accra in 1965,

6. Bearing in mind that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights have affirmed the principle that human beings shall enjoy fundamental rights and freedoms without discrimination,

7. Recalling Resolution 2312 (XXII) of 14 December 1967 of the United Nations General Assembly, relating to the Declaration on Territorial Asylum,

8. Convinced that all the problems of our continent must be solved in the spirit of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and in the African context,

9. Recognizing that the United Nations Convention of 28 July 1951, as modified by the

Protocol of 31 January 1967, constitutes the basic and universal instrument relating to the status of refugees and reflects the deep concern of States for refugees and their desire to establish common standards for their treatment,

10. Recalling Resolutions 26 and 104 of the OAU Assemblies of Heads of State and Government, calling upon Member States of the Organization who had not already done so to accede to the United Nations Convention of 1951 and to the Protocol of 1967 relating to the Status of Refugees, and meanwhile to apply their provisions to refugees in Africa,

11. Convinced that the efficiency of the measures recommended by the present Convention to solve the problem of refugees in Africa necessitates close and continuous collaboration between the Organization of African Unity and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

Article 1

Definition of the term “Refugee”

1. For the purposes of this Convention, the term “refugee” shall mean every person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons

of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

2. The term “refugee” shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.

3. In the case of a person who has several nationalities, the term “a country of which he is a national” shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of which he is a national if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national.

4. This Convention shall cease to apply to any refugee if: (a) he has voluntarily re-availed himself of the protection of the country of his nationality, or, (b) having lost his nationality, he has voluntarily reacquired it, or, (c) he has acquired a new nationality, and enjoys the protection of the country of his new nationality, or, (d) he has voluntarily re-established himself in the country which he left or outside which he remained owing to fear of persecution, or, (e) he can no longer, because the circumstances in connection with which he was recognized as a refugee have ceased to exist, continue to refuse to avail himself of the protection of the country of his nationality, or, (f) he has committed a serious non-political crime outside his country of refuge after his admission to that country as a refugee, or, (g) he has seriously infringed the purposes and objectives of this Convention.

5. The provisions of this Convention shall not apply to any person with respect to whom the country of asylum has serious reasons for considering that:

(a) he has committed a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity, as defined in the international instruments drawn up to make provision in respect of such crimes;

(b) he committed a serious non-political crime outside the country of refuge prior to his admission to that country as a refugee;

(c) he has been guilty of acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the Organization of African Unity;

(d) he has been guilty of acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

6. For the purposes of this Convention, the Contracting State of Asylum shall determine whether an applicant is a refugee.

Article 2

Asylum

1. Member States of the OAU shall use their best endeavours consistent with their respective legislations to receive refugees and to secure the settlement of those refugees who, for well-founded reasons, are unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin or nationality.

2. The grant of asylum to refugees is a peaceful and humanitarian act and shall not be regarded as an unfriendly act by any Member State.

3. No person shall be subjected by a Member State to measures such as rejection at the frontier, return or expulsion, which would compel him to return to or remain in a territory where his life, physical integrity or liberty would be threatened for the reasons set out in Article I, paragraphs 1 and 2.

4. Where a Member State finds difficulty in continuing to grant asylum to refugees, such Member State may appeal directly to other Member States and through the OAU, and such other Member States shall in the spirit of African solidarity and international cooperation take appropriate measures to lighten the burden of the Member State granting asylum.

5. Where a refugee has not received the right to reside in any country of asylum, he may be granted temporary residence in any country of asylum in which he first presented himself as a refugee pending arrangement for his resettlement in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

6. For reasons of security, countries of asylum shall, as far as possible, settle refugees at a reasonable distance from the frontier of their country of origin.

Article 3

Prohibition of Subversive Activities

1. Every refugee has duties to the country in which he finds himself, which require in particular that he conforms with its laws and regulations as well as with measures taken for the maintenance of public order. He shall also abstain from any subversive activities against any Member State of the OAU.

2. Signatory States undertake to prohibit refugees residing in their respective territories from attacking any State Member of the OAU, by any

activity likely to cause tension between Member States, and in particular by use of arms, through the press, or by radio.

Article 4

Non-Discrimination

Member States undertake to apply the provisions of this Convention to all refugees without discrimination as to race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions.

Article 5

Voluntary Repatriation

1. The essentially voluntary character of repatriation shall be respected in all cases and no refugee shall be repatriated against his will.

2. The country of asylum, in collaboration with the country of origin, shall make adequate arrangements for the safe return of refugees who request repatriation.

3. The country of origin, on receiving back refugees, shall facilitate their resettlement and grant them the full rights and privileges of nationals of the country, and subject them to the same obligations.

4. Refugees who voluntarily return to their country shall in no way be penalized for having left it for any of the reasons giving rise to refugee situations. Whenever necessary, an appeal shall be made through national information media and through the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, inviting refugees to return home and giving assurance that the new circumstances prevailing in their country of origin will enable them to return

without risk and to take up a normal and peaceful life without fear of being disturbed or punished, and that the text of such appeal should be given to refugees and clearly explained to them by their country of asylum.

5. Refugees who freely decide to return to their homeland, as a result of such assurances or on their own initiative, shall be given every possible assistance by the country of asylum, the country of origin, voluntary agencies and international and intergovernmental organizations, to facilitate their return.

Article 6

Travel Documents

1. Subject to Article III, Member States shall issue to refugees lawfully staying in their territories travel documents in accordance with the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the Schedule and

Annex thereto, for the purpose of travel outside their territory, unless compelling reasons of national security or public order otherwise require. Member States may issue such a travel document to any other refugee in their territory.

2. Where an African country of second asylum accepts a refugee from a country of first asylum, the country of first asylum may be dispensed from issuing a document with a return clause.

3. Travel documents issued to refugees under previous international agreements by States Parties thereto shall be recognized and treated by Member States in the same way as if they had been issued to refugees pursuant to this Article.

Article 7

Co-operation of the National Authorities with the Organization of African Unity

In order to enable the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to make reports to the competent organs of the Organization of African Unity, Member States undertake to provide the Secretariat in the appropriate form with

information and statistical data requested concerning:

- (a) the condition of refugees;
- (b) the implementation of this Convention, and
- (c) laws, regulations and decrees which are, or may hereafter be, in force relating to refugees.

Article 8

Cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1. Member States shall co-operate with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

2. The present Convention shall be the effective regional complement in Africa of the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees.

Article 9

Settlement of Disputes

Any dispute between States signatories to this Convention relating to its interpretation or application, which cannot be settled by other means, shall be referred to the Commission for Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration of the

Organization of African Unity, at the request of any one of the Parties to the dispute.

Article 10

Signature and Ratification

1. This Convention is open for signature and accession by all Member States of the Organization of African Unity and shall be ratified by signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

2. The original instrument, done if possible in African languages, and in English and French, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

3. Any independent African State, Member of the Organization of African Unity, may at any time notify the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity of its accession to this Convention.

Article 11

Entry into force

This Convention shall come into force upon deposit of instruments of ratification by one third of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity.

Article 12

Amendment

This Convention may be amended or revised if any member State makes a written request to the Administrative Secretary-General to that effect, provided however that the proposed amendment shall not be submitted to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government for consideration until all Member States have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has elapsed. Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two thirds of the Member States Parties to the present Convention.

Convention Governing The Specific Aspects Of Refugee Problems In Africa

PREAMBLE

We, the Heads of State and Government assembled in the city of Addis Ababa, from 6-10 September 1969,

1. Noting with concern the constantly increasing numbers of refugees in Africa and desirous of finding ways and means of alleviating their misery and suffering as well as providing them with a better life and future,

2. Recognizing the need for and essentially humanitarian approach towards solving the problems of refugees,

3. Aware, however, that refugee problems are a source of friction among many Member States, and desirous of eliminating the source of such discord,

4. Anxious to make a distinction between a refugee who seeks a peaceful and normal life and a person fleeing his country for the sole purpose of fomenting subversion from outside,

5. Determined that the activities of such subversive elements should be discouraged, in accordance with the Declaration on the Problem of Subversion and Resolution on the Problem of Refugees adopted at Accra in 1965,

6. Bearing in mind that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have affirmed the principle that human beings shall enjoy fundamental rights and freedoms without discrimination,

7. Recalling Resolution 2312 (XXII) of 14 December 1967 of the United Nations General Assembly, relating to the Declaration on Territorial Asylum,

8. Convinced that all the problems of our continent must be solved in the spirit of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity and in the African context,

9. Recognizing that the United Nations Convention of 28 July 1951, as modified by the Protocol of 31 January 1967, constitutes the basic and universal instrument relating to the status of refugees and reflects the deep concern of States for refugees and their desire to establish common standards for their treatment,

10. Recalling Resolutions 26 and 104 of the OAU Assemblies of Heads of State and Government, calling upon Member States of the Organization who had not already done so to accede to the United Nations Convention of 1951 and to the Protocol of 1967 relating to the Status of Refugees, and meanwhile to apply their provisions to refugees in Africa,

11. Convinced that the efficiency of the measures recommended by the present Convention to solve the problem of refugees in Africa necessitates close and continuous collaboration between the Organization of African Unity and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

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2. The term “refugee” shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.

3. In the case of a person who has several nationalities, the term “a country of which he is a national” shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of which he is a national if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national.

4. This Convention shall cease to apply to any refugee if: (a) he has voluntarily re-availed himself of the protection of the country of his nationality, or, (b) having lost his nationality, he has voluntarily reacquired it, or, (c) he has acquired a new nationality, and enjoys the protection of the country of his new nationality, or, (d) he has voluntarily re-established himself in the country which he left or outside which he remained owing to fear of

persecution, or, (e) he can no longer, because the circumstances in connection with which he was recognized as a refugee have ceased to exist, continue to refuse to avail himself of the protection of the country of his nationality, or, (f) he has committed a serious non-political crime outside his country of refuge after his admission to that country as a refugee, or, (g) he has seriously infringed the purposes and objectives of this Convention.

5. The provisions of this Convention shall not apply to any person with respect to whom the country of asylum has serious reasons for considering that:

(a) he has committed a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity, as defined in the international instruments drawn up to make provision in respect of such crimes;

(b) he committed a serious non-political crime outside the country of refuge prior to his admission to that country as a refugee;

(c) he has been guilty of acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the Organization of African Unity;

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2. The grant of asylum to refugees is a peaceful and humanitarian act and shall not be regarded as an unfriendly act by any Member State.

3. No person shall be subjected by a Member State to measures such as rejection at the frontier, return or expulsion, which would compel him to return to or remain in a territory where his life, physical integrity or liberty would be threatened for the reasons set out in Article I, paragraphs 1 and 2.

4. Where a Member State finds difficulty in continuing to grant asylum to refugees, such Member State may appeal directly to other Member States and through the OAU, and such other Member States shall in the spirit of African solidarity and international cooperation take appropriate measures to lighten the burden of the Member State granting asylum.

5. Where a refugee has not received the right to reside in any country of asylum, he may be granted temporary residence in any country of asylum in which he first presented himself as a refugee pending arrangement for his resettlement in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

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1. Every refugee has duties to the country in which he finds himself, which require in particular that he conforms with its laws and regulations as well as with measures taken for the maintenance of public order. He shall also abstain from any subversive activities against any Member State of the OAU.

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without risk and to take up a normal and peaceful life without fear of being disturbed or punished, and that the text of such appeal should be given to refugees and clearly explained to them by their country of asylum.

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and international and intergovernmental organizations, to facilitate their return.

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Travel Documents

1. Subject to Article III, Member States shall issue to refugees lawfully staying in their territories travel documents in accordance with the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the Schedule and Annex thereto, for the purpose of travel outside their territory, unless compelling reasons of national security or public order otherwise require. Member States may issue such a travel document to any other refugee in their territory.

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3. Travel documents issued to refugees under previous international agreements by States Parties thereto shall be recognized and treated by Member States in the same way as if they had been issued to refugees pursuant to this Article.

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In order to enable the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity to make reports to the competent organs of the Organization of African Unity, Member States undertake to provide the Secretariat in the appropriate form with information and statistical data requested concerning:

- (a) the condition of refugees;
- (b) the implementation of this Convention, and
- (c) laws, regulations and decrees which are, or may hereafter be, in force relating to refugees.

Article 8

Cooperation with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

1. Member States shall co-operate with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

2. The present Convention shall be the effective regional complement in Africa of the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees.

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Settlement of Disputes

Any dispute between States signatories to this Convention relating to its interpretation or application, which cannot be settled by other means, shall be referred to the Commission for Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration of the Organization of African Unity, at the request of any one of the Parties to the dispute.

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1. This Convention is open for signature and accession by all Member States of the Organization of African Unity and shall be ratified by signatory States in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

2. The original instrument, done if possible in African languages, and in English and French, all texts being equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity.

3. Any independent African State, Member of the Organization of African Unity, may at any time notify the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity of its accession to this Convention.

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Entry into force

This Convention shall come into force upon deposit of instruments of ratification by one third of the Member States of the Organization of African Unity.

Article 12

Amendment

This Convention may be amended or revised if any member State makes a written request to the Administrative Secretary-General to that effect, provided however that the proposed amendment shall not be submitted to the Assembly of Heads of State and Government for consideration until all Member States have been duly notified of it and a period of one year has

elapsed. Such an amendment shall not be effective unless approved by at least two thirds of the Member States Parties to the present Convention.

Article 13

Denunciation

1. Any Member State Party to this Convention may denounce its provisions by a written notification to the Administrative Secretary-General.

2. At the end of one year from the date of such notification, if not withdrawn, the Convention shall cease to apply with respect to the denouncing State.

Article 14

Upon entry into force of this Convention, the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU shall register it with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Article 15

Notifications by the Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity

The Administrative Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity shall inform all Members of the Organization: (a) of signatures, ratifications and accessions in accordance with Article X; (b) of entry into force, in accordance with Article XI; (c) of requests for amendments submitted under the terms of Article XII; (d) of denunciations, in accordance with Article XIII.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF WE, the Heads of African State and Government, have signed this Convention. DONE in the City of Addis Ababa this 10th day of September 1969.

Annex 14

Bamako Convention on the Ban of the Import into Africa and the Control of Transboundary Movement and Management of Hazardous Wastes Within Africa

PREAMBLE

The Parties to this Convention,

Mindful of the growing threat to health and the environment posed by the increased generation and the complexity of hazardous wastes,

Further mindful that the most effective way of protecting human health and the environment from the dangers posed by such wastes is the reduction of their generation to a minimum in terms of quantity and/or hazard potential.

Aware of the risk of damage to human health and the environment caused by transboundary movements of hazardous wastes,

Reiterating that States should ensure that the generator should carry out his responsibilities with regard to the transport and disposal of hazardous wastes in a manner that is consistent with the protection of human health and environment, whatever the place of disposal,

Recalling relevant Chapters of the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) on environmental protection, the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, Chapter IX of the Lagos Plan of Action and other Recommendations adopted by the Organization of African Unity on the environment,

Further recognizing the sovereignty of States to ban the importation into, and the transit through, their territory, of hazardous wastes and substances for human health and environmental reasons,

Recognizing also the increasing mobilization in Africa for the prohibition of transboundary movements of hazardous wastes and their disposal in African countries,

Convinced that hazardous wastes should, as far as is compatible with environmentally sound and efficient management, be disposed in the State where they were generated,

Convinced that the effective control and minimization of transboundary movements of hazardous wastes will act as an incentive, in Africa and elsewhere, for the reduction of the volume of the generation of such wastes,

Noting that a number of international and regional agreements deal with the problem of the protection and preservation of the environment with regard to the transit of dangerous goods,

Taking into account the Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm, 1972), the Cairo Guidelines and Principles for the Environmentally Sound Management of Hazardous Wastes adopted by the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) by Decision 14/30 of 17 June, 1987, the Recommendations of the United Nations Committee of Experts on the Transport of Dangerous Goods (formulated in 1957 and updated biennially), the Charter of Human Rights, relevant recommendations, declarations,

instruments and regulations adopted within the United Nations System, the relevant articles of the 1989 Brussels Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their

Disposal which allow for the establishment of regional agreements which may be equal to or stronger than its own provisions, Article 39 of the Lomé IV Convention relating to the international movement of hazardous wastes and radioactive wastes, African intergovernmental organizations and the work and studies done within other international and regional organizations,

Mindful of the spirit, principles, aims and functions of the African Convention on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources adopted by the African Heads of State and Government in Algiers (1968) and the World Charter for Nature adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Thirty-seventh Session (1982) as the rule of ethics in respect of the protection of the human environment and the conservation of natural resources,

Concerned by the problem of transboundary traffic in hazardous wastes,

Recognizing the need to promote the development of clean production methods, including clean technologies, for the sound management of hazardous wastes produced in Africa, in particular, to avoid, minimize and eliminate the generation of such wastes,

Recognizing also that where necessary hazardous wastes should be transported in accordance with relevant international conventions and recommendations,

Determined to protect, by strict control, the human health of the African population and the environment against the adverse effects which may result from the generation of hazardous wastes,

Affirming a commitment also to responsibly address the problem of hazardous wastes originating within the Continent of Africa,

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

Article 1

Definitions

For the purpose of this Convention:

“Wastes” are substances or materials which are disposed of, or are intended to be disposed of, or are required to be disposed of by the provisions of national law;

“Hazardous wastes” means wastes as specified in Article 2 of this Convention;

“Management” means the prevention and reduction of hazardous wastes and the collection, transport, storage, and treatment either for the reuse or disposal, of hazardous wastes including after-care of disposal sites;

“Transboundary movement” means any movement of hazardous wastes from an area under the national jurisdiction of any State to or through an area under the national jurisdiction of another State, or to or through an area not under the national jurisdiction of another State, provided at least two States are involved in the movement;

“Clean production methods” means production or industrial systems which avoid, or eliminate the generation of hazardous wastes and hazardous products in conformity with Article 4, section 3 (f) and (g) of this Convention;

“Disposal” means any operation specified in Annex III to this Convention;

“Approval site or facility” means a site or facility for the disposal of hazardous wastes which is authorized or permitted to operate for this purpose by a relevant authority of the State where the site or facility is located;

“Competent authority” means governmental authority designated by a Party to be responsible, within such geographical areas as the Party may think fit, for receiving the notification of a transboundary movement of hazardous wastes and any information related to it, and for responding to such a notification, as provided in Article 6 of this Convention;

“Focal point” means the entity of a Party referred to in Article 5 of this Convention responsible for receiving and submitting information as provided for in Articles 13 and 16;

“Environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes” means taking all practicable steps to ensure that hazardous wastes are managed in a manner which will protect human health and the environment against the adverse effects which may result from such wastes;

“Area under the national jurisdiction of a State” means any land, marine area or airspace within which a State exercises administrative and regulatory responsibility in accordance with international law in regard to the protection of human health or the environment;

“State of export” means a State from which a transboundary movement of hazardous wastes is planned to be initiated or is initiated;

“State of import” means a State to which a transboundary movement is planned or takes place for the purpose of disposal therein or for the purpose of loading prior to disposal in an area not under the national jurisdiction of any State;

“State of transit” means any State, other than the State of export or import, through which a movement of hazardous wastes is planned or takes place;

“States concerned” means States of export or import, or transit states, whether or not Parties;

“Person” means any natural or legal person;

“Exporter” means any person under the jurisdiction of the State of export who arranges for hazardous wastes to be exported;

“Importer” means any person under the jurisdiction of the State of import who arranges for hazardous wastes to be imported;

“Carrier” means any person who carries out the transport of hazardous wastes;

“Generator” means any person whose activity produces hazardous wastes, or, if that person is not known, the person who is in possession and/or control of those wastes;

“Disposer” means any person to whom hazardous wastes are shipped and who carries out the disposal of such wastes;

“Illegal traffic” means any transboundary movement of hazardous wastes as specified in Article 9 of this Convention;

“Dumping at sea” means the deliberate disposal of hazardous wastes at sea from vessels, aircraft, platforms or other man-made structures at sea, and includes ocean incineration and disposal into the seabed and sub-seabed.

Article 2

Scope of the Convention

1. The following substances shall be “hazardous wastes” for the purposes of this convention:

(a) Wastes that belong to any category contained in Annex I of this Convention;

(b) Wastes that are not covered under paragraph (a) above but are defined as, or are considered to be, hazardous wastes by the domestic legislation of the State of export, import or transit;

(c) Wastes which possess any of the characteristics contained in Annex II of this Convention;

(d) Hazardous substances which have been banned, cancelled or refused registration by government regulatory action, or voluntarily withdrawn from registration in the country of manufacture, for human health or environmental reasons.

2. Wastes which, as a result of being radioactive, are subject to any international control systems, including international instruments, applying specifically to radioactive materials, are included in the scope of this Convention.

3. Wastes which derive from the normal operations of a ship, the discharge of which is covered by another international instrument, shall not fall within the scope of this Convention.

Article 3

National Definitions of Hazardous Wastes

1. Each State shall, within six months of becoming a Party to this Convention, inform the Secretariat of the Convention of the wastes, other than those listed in Annex I of this Convention, considered or defined as hazardous under its national legislation and of any requirements concerning transboundary movement procedures applicable to such wastes.

2. Each Party shall subsequently inform the Secretariat of any significant changes to the information it has provided pursuant to Paragraph 1 of this Article.

3. The Secretariat shall forthwith inform all Parties of the information it has received pursuant to paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article.

4. Parties shall be responsible for making the information transmitted to them by the Secretariat under Paragraph 3 of this Article available to their exporters and other appropriate bodies.

Article 4

General Obligations

1. Hazardous Waste Import Ban.

All Parties shall take appropriate legal, administrative and other measures within the area under their jurisdiction to prohibit the import of all hazardous wastes, for any reason, into Africa from non-Contracting Parties. Such import shall be deemed illegal and a criminal act. All Parties shall:

(a) forward as soon as possible, all information relating to such illegal hazardous waste import activity to the Secretariat who shall distribute the information to all Contracting Parties;

(b) co-operate to ensure that no imports of hazardous wastes from a non-Party enter a Party to this Convention. To this end, the Parties shall, at the Conference of the Contracting Parties, consider other enforcement mechanisms.

2. Ban on Dumping of Hazardous Wastes at Sea and Internal Waters.

(a) Parties, in conformity with related international conventions and instruments shall, in the exercise of their jurisdiction within their internal waters, territorial seas, exclusive economic zones and continental shelf, adopt legal, administrative and other appropriate measures to control all carriers from non-Parties, and prohibit the dumping at sea of hazardous wastes, including their incineration at sea and their disposal in the seabed and sub-seabed. Any dumping of hazardous wastes at sea, including incineration at sea as well as seabed and sub-seabed disposal, by Contracting Parties, whether in internal waters, territorial seas, exclusive economic zones or high seas all be deemed to be illegal;

(b) Parties shall forward, as soon as possible, all information relating to dumping of hazardous wastes to the Secretariat which shall distribute the information to all Contracting Parties.

3. Waste generation in Africa.

Each Party shall:

(a) ensure that hazardous waste generators submit to the Secretariat reports regarding the wastes that they generate in order to enable the Secretariat of the Convention to produce a complete hazardous waste audit;

(b) impose strict, unlimited liability as well as joint and several liability of hazardous waste generators;

(c) ensure that the generation of hazardous wastes within the area under its jurisdiction is reduced to a minimum taking into account social, technological and economic aspects;

(d) ensure the availability of adequate treatment and/or disposal facilities, for the environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes which shall be located, to the extent possible, within its jurisdiction;

(e) ensure that persons involved in the management of hazardous wastes within its jurisdiction take such steps as are necessary to prevent pollution arising from such wastes and, if such pollution occurs, to minimize the consequence thereof for human health and the environment;

The Adoption of Precautionary Measures:

(f) Each Party shall strive to adopt and implement the preventive, precautionary approach to pollution problems which entails, inter alia, preventing the release into the environment of substances which may cause harm to humans or the environment without waiting for scientific proof regarding such harm. The Parties shall cooperate with each other in taking the appropriate measures to implement the precautionary principle to pollution prevention through the application of clean production methods, rather than

the pursuit of permissible emissions approach based on assimilative capacity assumption;

(g) In this respect Parties shall promote clean production methods applicable to entire product life cycles including:

raw material selection, extraction and processing;

product conceptualization, design, manufacture and assemblage;

materials transport during all phases;

industrial and household usage;

reintroduction of the product into industrial systems or nature when it no longer services a useful function;

Clean production shall not include “end-of-pipe” pollution controls such as filters and scrubbers, or chemical, physical or biological treatment. Measures which reduce the volume of waste by incineration or concentration, mask the hazard by dilution, or transfer pollutants from one environment medium to another, are also excluded;

(h) The issue of preventing the transfer to Africa of polluting technologies shall be kept under systematic review by the Secretariat of the Conference and periodic report shall be made to the Conference of the Parties; Obligations in Transport and Transboundary Movement of Hazardous Wastes from Contracting Parties:

(i) each Party shall prevent the export of hazardous wastes to States which have prohibited by their legislation or international agreement all such imports, or if it has reason to believe that the wastes in question will not be managed in an environmentally sound manner, according to criteria to be decided on by the Parties at their first meeting;

(j) a Party shall not permit hazardous wastes to be exported to a State which does not have the facilities for disposing of them in an environmentally sound manner;

(k) each Party shall ensure that hazardous wastes to be exported are managed in an environmentally sound manner in the State of import and transit. Technical guidelines for the environmentally sound management of wastes subject to this Convention shall be decided by the Parties at their first meeting;

(l) the Parties agree not to allow the export of hazardous wastes for disposal within the area South of 60 degrees South Latitude, whether or not such wastes are subject to transboundary movement;

(m) further, each Party shall:

(i) prohibit all persons under its national jurisdiction from transporting, storing or disposing of hazardous wastes unless such persons are authorized or allowed to perform such operations;

(ii) ensure that hazardous wastes that are to be the subject of a transboundary movement are packaged, labelled, and transported in conformity with generally accepted and recognized international rules and standards in the field of packaging, labelling, and transport, and that due account is taken of relevant internationally recognized practices;

(iii) ensure that hazardous wastes be accompanied by a movement document, containing information specified in Annex IV B, from the point of which a transboundary movement commences to the point of disposal;

(n) Parties shall take the appropriate measures to ensure that the transboundary movements of hazardous wastes only are allowed if:

(i) the State of export does not have the technical capacity and the necessary facilities, capacity or suitable disposal sites in order to dispose of the wastes in question in an environmentally sound and efficient manner; or

(ii) the transboundary movement in question is in accordance with other criteria to be decided by the Parties, provided those criteria do not differ from the objectives of this Convention;

(o) Under this Convention, the obligation of States in which hazardous wastes are generated, requiring that those wastes are managed in an environmentally sound manner, may not under any circumstances be transferred to the States of import or transit;

(p) Parties shall undertake to review periodically the possibilities for the reduction of the amount and/or the pollution potential of hazardous wastes which are exported to other States;

(q) Parties exercising their right to prohibit the import of hazardous wastes for disposal shall inform the other Parties of their decision pursuant to Article 13 of this Convention;

(r) Parties shall prohibit or shall not permit the export of hazardous wastes to States which have prohibited the import of such wastes, when notified by the Secretariat or any competent authority pursuant to sub-paragraph (q) above;

(s) Parties shall prohibit or shall not permit the export of hazardous wastes if the State of import does not consent in writing to the specific import, in the case where that State of import has not prohibited the import of such wastes;

(t) Parties shall ensure that the transboundary movement of hazardous wastes is reduced to the minimum consistent with the environmentally sound and efficient management of such wastes, and is conducted in a manner which

will protect human health and the environment against the adverse effects which may result from such movement;

(u) Parties shall require that information about a proposed transboundary movement of hazardous wastes be provided to the States concerned, according to Annex IV A of this Convention, and clearly state the potential effects of the proposed movement on human health and the environment.

Furthermore

(a) Parties shall undertake to enforce the obligations of this Convention against offenders and infringements according to relevant national laws and/or international law;

(b) Nothing in this Convention shall prevent a Party from imposing additional requirements that are consistent with the provisions of this Convention, and are in accordance with the rules of international law, in order to better protect human health and the environment;

(c) This Convention recognizes the sovereignty of States over their territorial sea, waterways, and air space established in accordance with international law, and jurisdiction which States have in their exclusive economic zone and their continental shelves in accordance with international law, and the exercise by ships and aircraft of all States of navigation rights and freedoms as provided for in international law and as reflected in relevant international instruments.

Article 5

Designation of Competent Authorities, Focal Point and Dumpwatch

To facilitate the implementation of this Convention, the Parties shall:

1. Designate or establish one or more competent authorities and one focal point. One competent authority shall be designated to receive the notification in case of a State of transit.

2. Inform the Secretariat, within three months of the date of the entry into force of this Convention for them, which agencies they have designated as their focal point and their competent authorities.

3. Inform the Secretariat, within one month of the date of decision, of any changes regarding the designations made by them under paragraph 2 above.

4. Appoint a national body to act as a Dumpwatch. In such capacity as a Dumpwatch, the designated national body only will be required to co-ordinate with the concerned governmental and non-governmental bodies.

Article 6

Transboundary Movement and Notification Procedures

1. The State of export shall notify, or shall require the generator or exporter to notify, in writing, through the channel of the competent authority of the State of export, the competent authority of the States concerned of any proposed transboundary movement of hazardous wastes. Such notification shall contain the declarations and information specified in Annex IV A of this Convention, written in a language acceptable to the State of import. Only one notification needs to be sent to each State concerned.

2. The State of import shall respond to the notifier in writing consenting to the movement with or without conditions, denying permission for the movement, or requesting additional information. A copy of the final response of the State of import shall be sent to the competent authorities of the States concerned that are Parties to this Convention.

3. The State of export shall not allow the transboundary movement until it has received:

(a) written consent of the State of import; and

(b) from the State of import, written confirmation of the existence of a contract between the exporter and the disposer specifying environmentally sound management of the wastes in question.

4. Each State of transit which is a Party to this Convention shall promptly acknowledge to the notifier receipt of the notification. It may subsequently respond to the notifier in writing, within 60 days, consenting to the movement with or without conditions, denying permission for the movement, or requesting additional information. The State of export shall not allow the transboundary movement to commence until it has received the written consent of the State of transit.

5. In the case of a transboundary movement of hazardous wastes where the wastes are legally defined as or considered to be hazardous wastes only:

(a) By the State of export, the requirements of paragraph 8 of this Article that apply to the importer or disposer and the State of import shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the exporter and State of export, respectively;

(b) By the Party of import, or by the States of import and transit which are Parties to this Convention, the requirements of paragraphs 1, 3, 4 and 6 of this Article that apply to the exporter and State of export shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to the importer or disposer and Party of import, respectively; or

(c) By any State of transit which is a Party to this Convention, the provisions of paragraph 4 of this Article shall apply to such State.

6. The State of export shall use a shipment specific notification even where hazardous wastes having the same physical and chemical characteristics are shipped regularly to the same disposer via the same customs office of entry of the State of import, and in the case of transit, via the same customs office of entry and exit of the State or States of transit; specific notification of each and every shipment.

7. Each Party to this Convention shall limit their points or ports of entry and notify the Secretariat to this effect for distribution to all Contracting Parties. Such points and ports shall be the only ones permitted for the transboundary movement of hazardous wastes.

8. The Parties to this Convention shall require that each person who takes charge of a transboundary movement of hazardous wastes sign the movement document either upon delivery or receipt of the wastes in question. They shall also require that the disposer inform both the exporter and the competent authority of the State of export of receipt by the disposer of the wastes in question and, in due course, of the completion of disposal as specified in the notification. If no such information is received within the State of export, the competent authority of the State of export or the exporter shall so notify the State of import.

9. The notification and response required by this Article shall be transmitted to the competent authority of the States concerned.

10. Any transboundary movement of hazardous wastes shall be covered by insurance, bond or other guarantee as may be required by the State of import, or any State of transit which is a Party to this Convention.

Article 7

Transboundary Movement from a Party through States which are not Parties

Paragraphs 2 and 4 of Article 6 of this Convention shall apply mutatis mutandis to transboundary movements of hazardous wastes from a Party through a State or States which are not Parties.

Article 8

Duty to Re-import

When a transboundary movement of hazardous wastes to which the consent of the States concerned has been given, subject to the provisions of this Convention, cannot be completed in accordance with the terms of the contract, the State of export shall ensure that the wastes in question are taken back into the State of export, by the exporter, if alternative arrangements

cannot be made for their disposal in an environmentally sound manner within a maximum of 90 days from the time that the importing State informed the State of export and the Secretariat. To this end, the State of export and any State of transit shall not oppose, hinder or prevent the return of those waste to the State of export.

Article 9

Illegal traffic

1. For the purpose of this Convention, any transboundary movement of hazardous wastes under the following situations shall be deemed to be illegal traffic:

(a) if carried out without notification, pursuant to the provisions of this Convention, to all States concerned; or

(b) if carried out without the consent, pursuant to the provisions of this Convention, of a State concerned; or

(c) if consent is obtained from States concerned through falsification, misrepresentation or fraud; or

(d) if it does not conform in a material way with the documents; or

(e) if it results in deliberate disposal of hazardous wastes in contravention of this Convention and of general principles of international law.

2. Each Party shall introduce appropriate national legislation for imposing criminal penalties on all persons who have planned, carried out, or assisted in such illegal imports. Such penalties shall be sufficiently high to both punish and deter such conduct.

3. In case of a transboundary movement of hazardous wastes deemed to be illegal traffic as the result of conduct on the part of the exporter or generator, the State of export shall ensure that the wastes in question are taken back by the exporter or the wastes in question are taken back by the exporter or generator or if necessary by itself into the State of export, within 30 days from the time the State of export has been informed about the illegal traffic. To this end the States concerned shall not oppose, hinder or prevent the return of those wastes to the State of export and appropriate legal action shall be taken against the contravener(s).

4. In the case of a transboundary movement of hazardous wastes deemed to be illegal traffic as the result of conduct on the part of the importer or disposer, the State of import shall ensure that the wastes in question are returned to the exporter by the importer and that legal proceedings according to the provisions of this Convention are taken against the contravener(s).

Article 10

Intra-African Cooperation

1. The Parties to this Convention shall co-operate with one another and with relevant African organizations, to improve and achieve the environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes.

2. To this end, the Parties shall:

(a) make available information, whether on a bilateral or multilateral basis, with a view to promoting clean production methods and the environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes, including harmonization of technical standards and practices for the adequate management of hazardous wastes;

(b) co-operate in monitoring the effects of the management of hazardous wastes on human health and the environment;

(c) co-operate, subject to their national laws, regulations and policies, in the development and implementation of new environmentally sound clean production technologies and the improvement of existing technologies with a view to eliminating, as far as practicable, the generation of hazardous wastes and achieving more effective and efficient methods of ensuring their management in an environmentally sound manner, including the study of the economic, social and environmental effects of the adoption of such new and improved technologies;

(d) co-operate, subject to their national laws, regulations and policies, in the development and implementation of new environmentally sound clean production technologies and the improvement of existing technologies with a view to eliminating, as far as practicable, the generation of hazardous wastes and achieving more effective and efficient methods of ensuring their management in an environmentally sound manner, including the study of the economic, social and environmental effects of the adoption of such new and improved technologies;

(e) co-operate in developing appropriate technical guidelines and/or codes of practice;

(f) co-operate in the exchange and dissemination of information on the movement of hazardous wastes in conformity with Article 13 of this Convention.

Article 11

International Co-operation

Bilateral, Multilateral and Regional Agreements

1. Parties to this Convention may enter into bilateral, multilateral, or regional agreements or arrangements regarding the transboundary movement

and management of hazardous wastes generated in Africa with Parties or non-Parties provided that such agreements or arrangements do not derogate from the environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes as required by this Convention. These agreements or arrangements shall stipulate provisions which are no less environmentally sound than those provided for by this Convention.

2. Parties shall notify the Secretariat of any bilateral, multilateral or regional agreements or arrangements referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article and those which they have entered into prior to the entry into force of this Convention for them, for the purpose of controlling transboundary movements of hazardous wastes which take place entirely among the Parties to such agreements. The provisions of this Convention shall not affect place pursuant to such agreements provided that such agreements are compatible with the environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes as required by this Convention.

3. Each Contracting Party shall prohibit vessels flying its flag or aircraft registered in its territory from carrying out activities in contravention of this Convention.

4. Parties shall use appropriate measures to promote South-South co-operation in the implementation of this Convention.

5. Taking into account the needs of developing countries, co-operation between international organizations is encouraged in order to promote, among other things, public awareness, the development of rational management of hazardous waste, and the adoption of new and non/less polluting technologies.

Article 12

Liabilities and Compensation

The Conference of Parties shall set up an ad hoc expert organ to prepare a draft protocol setting out appropriate rules and procedures in the field of liabilities and compensation for damage resulting from the transboundary movement of hazardous wastes.

Article 13

Transmission of Information

1. The Parties shall ensure that in the case of an accident occurring during the transboundary movement of hazardous wastes or their disposal which is likely to present risks to human health and the environment in other States, those States are immediately informed.

2. The States shall inform each other, through the Secretariat, of:

(a) changes regarding the designation of competent authorities and/or focal points, pursuant to Article 5 of this Convention;

(b) changes in their national definition of hazardous wastes, pursuant to Article 3 of this Convention;

(c) decisions made by them to limit or ban the import of hazardous wastes;

(d) any other information required pursuant to paragraph 4 of this Article.

3. The Parties, consistent with national laws and regulations, shall set up information collection and dissemination mechanisms on hazardous wastes. They shall transmit such information through the Secretariat, to the Conference of the Parties established under

Article 15 of this Convention, before the end of each calendar year, in a report on the previous calendar year, containing the following information:

(a) competent authorities, dumpwatch, and focal points that have been designated by them pursuant to Article 5 of this Convention;

(b) information regarding transboundary movements of hazardous wastes in which they have been involved, including:

(i) the quantity of hazardous wastes exported, their category, characteristics, destination, any transit country and disposal method as stated in the notification;

(ii) the amount of hazardous wastes imported, their category, characteristics, origin, and disposal methods;

(iii) disposal which did not proceed as intended;

(iv) efforts to achieve a reduction of the amount of hazardous wastes subject to transboundary movement;

(c) information on the measures adopted by them in the implementation of this Convention;

(d) information on available qualified statistics - which have been compiled by them on the effects on human health and the environment of the generation, transportation, and disposal of hazardous wastes - as part of the information required in conformity with

Article 4 Section 3 (a) of this Convention;

(e) information concerning bilateral, multilateral and regional agreements and arrangements entered into pursuant to Article 11 of this Convention;

(f) information on accidents occurring during the transboundary movements, treatment and disposal of hazardous wastes and on the measures undertaken to deal with them;

(g) information on treatment and disposal options operated within the area under their national jurisdiction;

(h) information on measures undertaken for the development of clean production methods, including clean production technologies, for the reduction and/or elimination of the production of hazardous wastes; and

(i) such other matters as the Conference of the Parties shall deem relevant.

4. The Parties, consistent with national laws and regulations, shall ensure that copies of each notification concerning any given transboundary movement of hazardous wastes, and the response to it, are sent to the Secretariat.

Article 14

Financial Aspects

1. The regular budget of the Conference of Parties, as required in Articles 15 and 16 of this Convention, shall be prepared by the Secretariat and approved by the Conference.

2. Parties shall, at the first meeting of the Conference of the Parties, agree on a scale of contributions to the recurrent budget of the Secretariat.

3. The Parties shall also consider the establishment of a revolving fund to assist, on an interim basis, in case of emergency situations to minimize damage from disasters or accidents arising from transboundary movements of hazardous wastes or during the disposal of such wastes.

4. The Parties agree that, according to the specific needs of different regions and subregions, regional or sub-regional centres for training and technology transfers regarding the management of hazardous wastes and minimization of their generation should be established, as well as appropriate funding mechanisms of a voluntary nature.

Article 15

Conference of the Parties

1. A Conference of the Parties, made up of Ministers having the environment as their mandate, is hereby established. The first meeting of the Conference of the parties shall be convened by the Secretary General of the OAU not later than one year after the entry into force of this Convention. Thereafter, ordinary meetings of the Conference of the Parties shall be held at regular intervals to be determined by the Conference at its first meeting.

2. The Conference of the Parties to this Convention shall adopt rules of procedure for itself and for any subsidiary body it may establish, as well as financial rules to determine in particular the financial rules to determine in particular the financial participation of the Parties to this Convention.

3. The Parties to this Convention at their first meeting shall consider any additional measures needed to assist them in fulfilling their responsibilities with respect to the protection and the preservation of the marine and inland waters environments in the context of this Convention.

4. The Conference of the Parties shall keep under continued review and evaluation the effective implementation of this Convention, and in addition, shall:

(a) promote the harmonization of appropriate policies, strategies and measures for minimizing harm to human health and the environment by hazardous wastes;

(b) consider and adopt amendments to this Convention and its annexes, taking into consideration, inter alia, available scientific, technical, economic and environmental information;

(c) consider and undertake any additional action that may be required for the achievement of the purpose of this Convention in the light of experience gained in its operation and in the operation of the agreements and arrangements envisaged in Article 11 of this Convention;

(d) consider and adopt protocols as required;

(e) establish such subsidiary bodies as are deemed necessary for the implementation of this Convention; and

(f) make decisions for the peaceful settlement of disputes arising from the transboundary movement of hazardous wastes, if need be, according to international law.

5. Organizations may be represented as observers at meetings of the Conference of the Parties. Anybody or agency, whether national or international, governmental or nongovernmental, qualified in fields relating to hazardous wastes which has informed the Secretariat, may be represented as an observer at a meeting of the Conference of the Parties. The admission and participation of observers shall be subject to the rules of procedure adopted by the Conference of the Parties.

Article 16

Secretariat

1. The functions of the Secretariat shall be:

(a) to arrange for, and service, meetings provided for in Articles 15 and 17 of this Convention;

(b) to prepare and transmit reports based upon information received in accordance with Articles 3, 4, 6, 11 and 13 of this Convention as well as upon information derived from meetings of subsidiary bodies established under

Article 15 of this Convention as well as upon as appropriate information provided by relevant inter-governmental and nongovernmental entities;

(c) to prepare reports on its activities carried out in the implementation of its functions under this Convention and present them to the Conference of the Parties;

(d) to ensure the necessary co-ordination with relevant international bodies, and in particular to enter into such administrative and contractual arrangements as may be required for the effective discharge of its functions;

(e) to communicate with focal points, competent authorities and Dumpwatch established by the Parties in accordance with Article 5 of this Convention as well as appropriate inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations which may provide assistance in the implementation of this Convention;

(f) to compile information concerning approved national sites and facilities of Parties to this Convention available for the disposal and treatment of their hazardous wastes and to circulate this information;

(g) to receive and convey information from and to Parties on:

- sources of technical assistance and training;
- available technical and scientific know-how;
- sources of advice and expertise; and
- availability of resources;

This information will assist them in,

- the management of the notification system of this Convention;
- environmentally sound clean production methods relating to hazardous wastes, such as clean production technologies;
- the assessment of disposal capabilities and sites;
- the monitoring of hazardous wastes; and
- emergency responses;

(h) to provide Parties to this Convention with information on consultants or consulting firms having the necessary technical competence in the field, which can assist them with examining a notification for a transboundary movement, the concurrence of a shipment of hazardous wastes with the relevant notification, and/or whether the proposed disposal facilities for hazardous wastes are environmentally sound, when they have reason to believe that the wastes in question will not be managed in an environmentally sound manner. Any such examinations would not be at the expense of the Secretariat;

(i) to assist Parties to this Convention in their identification of cases of illegal traffic and to circulate immediately to the Parties concerned any information it has received regarding illegal traffic;

(j) to co-operate with Parties to this Convention and with relevant and competent

international organizations and agencies in the provision of experts and equipment for the purpose of rapid assistance to States in the event of an emergency situation; and

(k) to perform such other functions relevant to the purposes of this Convention as may be determined by the Conference of the Parties to this Convention.

2. The Secretariat's functions shall be carried out on an interim basis by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) jointly with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) until the completion of the first meeting of the Conference of the Parties held pursuant to Article 15 of this Convention. At this meeting, the Conference of the Parties shall also evaluate the implementation by the interim Secretariat of the functions assigned to it, in particular under paragraph 1 above, and decide upon the structures appropriate for those functions.

Article 17

Amendment of the Convention and of Protocols

1. Any Party may propose amendments to this Convention and any Party to a Protocol may propose amendments to that Protocol. Such amendments shall take due account, *inter alia*, of relevant scientific, technical, environmental and social considerations.

2. Amendments to this Convention shall be adopted at a meeting of the Conference of the Parties. Amendments to any Protocol shall be adopted at a meeting of the Parties to the Protocol in question. The text of any proposed amendment to this Convention or to any Protocol, except as may otherwise be provided in such Protocol, shall be communicated to the Parties by the Secretariat at least six months before the meeting at which it is proposed for adoption. The Secretariat shall also communicate proposed amendments to the Signatories to this Convention for their information.

3. The Parties shall make every effort to reach agreement on any proposed amendment to this Convention by consensus. If all efforts at consensus have been exhausted, and no agreement reached, the amendment shall, as a last resort, be adopted by a two-thirds majority vote of the Parties present and

voting at the meeting. It shall then be submitted by the depository to all Parties for ratification, approval, formal confirmation or acceptance.

Amendment of Protocols to this Convention

4. The procedure specified in paragraph 3 above shall apply to amendments to any protocol, except that a two-thirds majority of the Parties to that Protocol present and voting at the meeting shall suffice for their adoption.

General Provisions

5. Instruments of ratification, approval, formal confirmation or acceptance of amendments shall be deposited with the Depository. Amendments adopted in accordance with paragraph 3 or 4 above shall enter into force between Parties having accepted them, on the ninetieth day after the receipt by the Depository of the instrument of ratification, approval, formal confirmation or acceptance by at least two-thirds of the Parties who accepted the amendments to the Protocol concerned, except as may otherwise be provided in such Protocol. The amendments shall enter into force for any other Party on the ninetieth day after that Party deposits its instrument of ratification, approval, formal confirmation or acceptance of the amendments.

6. For the purpose of this Article, “Parties present and voting” means Parties present and casting an affirmative or negative vote.

Article 18

Adoption and Amendment of Annexes

1. The annexes to this Convention or to any Protocol shall form an integral part of this Convention or of such Protocol, as the case may be and, unless expressly provided otherwise, a reference to this Convention or its Protocols constitutes at the same time a reference to any annexes thereto. Such annexes shall be restricted to scientific, technical and administrative matters.

2. Except as may be otherwise provided in any Protocol with respect to its annexes, the following procedures shall apply to the proposal, adoption and entry into force of additional annexes to this Convention or of annexes to a protocol:

(a) annexes to this Convention and its Protocols shall be proposed and adopted according to the procedure laid down in Article 17, paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 4 of this Convention;

(b) any Party that is unable to accept an additional annex to this convention or an annex to any Protocol to which it is Party shall so notify the

Depository, in writing, within six months from the date of the communication of the adoption by the Depository. The Depository shall without delay notify all Parties of any such notification received. A Part may at any time substitute an acceptance for a previous declaration of objection and the annexes shall thereupon enter into force for that Party;

(c) upon the expiration of six months from the date of the circulation of the communication by the Depository, the annex shall become effective for all Parties to this Convention or to any Protocol concerned with the provision of sub-paragraph (b) above.

3. The proposal, adoption and entry into force of amendments to annexes to this Convention or to any Protocol shall be subject to the same procedure as for the proposal, adoption and entry into force of annexes to the Convention or annexes to a Protocol. Annexes and amendments thereto shall take due account, *inter alia*, of relevant scientific and technical considerations.

4. If an additional annex or an amendment to an annex involves an amendment to this Convention or to any Protocol, the additional annex or amended annex shall not enter into force until such time as the amendment to this Convention or to the Protocol enters into force.

Article 19

Verification Any Party which has reason to believe that another Party is acting or has acted in breach of its obligations under this Convention must inform the Secretariat thereof, and in such an event, shall simultaneously and immediately inform, directly or through the Secretariat, the Party against whom the allegations are made. The Secretariat shall carry out a verification of the substance of the allegation and submit a report thereof to all the Parties to this Convention.

ARTICLE 20

Settlement of Disputes

1. In case of dispute between Parties as to the interpretation or application of, or compliance with, this Convention or any Protocol thereto, the Parties shall seek a settlement of the dispute through negotiations or any other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. If the Parties concerned cannot settle their dispute as provided in paragraph 1 of this Article, the dispute shall be submitted either to an *ad hoc* organ set up by the Conference for this purpose, or to the International Court of Justice.

3. The conduct of arbitration of disputes between Parties by the ad hoc organ provided for in paragraph 2 of this Article shall be as provided in Annex V of this Convention.

Article 21

Signature

This Convention shall be open for signature by Member States of the OAU in Bamako and Addis Ababa for a period of six months from 30 January 1991 to 31 July 1991.

Article 22

Ratification, Acceptance, Formal Confirmation or Approval

1. This Convention shall be subject to ratification, acceptance, formal confirmation, or approval by Member States of the OAU. Instruments of ratification, acceptance, formal confirmation, or approval shall be deposited with the Depository.

2. Parties shall be bound by all obligations of this Convention.

Article 23

Accession

This Convention shall be open for accession by Member States of the OAU from the day after the date on which the Convention is closed for signature. The instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Depository.

Article 24

Right to Vote

Each Contracting Party to this Convention shall have one vote.

Article 25

Entry into Force

1. This Convention shall enter into force on the ninetieth day after the date of deposit of the tenth instrument of ratification from Parties signatory to this Convention.

2. For each State which ratifies this Convention or accedes thereto after the date of the deposit of the tenth instrument of ratification, it shall enter into force on the ninetieth day after the date of deposit by such State of its instrument of accession or ratification.

Article 26

Reservations and Declarations

1. No reservations or exception may be made to this Convention.
2. Paragraph 1 of this Article does not preclude a State when signing, ratifying, or acceding to this Convention, from making declarations or statements, however phrased or named, with a view, *inter alia*, to the harmonization of its laws and regulations with the provisions of this Convention, provided that such declarations or statements do not purport to exclude or to modify the legal effects of the provisions of the Convention in their application to that State.

Article 27

Withdrawal

1. At any time after three years from the date on which this Convention has entered into force for a Party, that Party may withdraw from the Convention by giving written notification to the Depository.
2. Withdrawal shall be effective one year after receipt of notification by the Depository, or on such later date as may be specified in the notification.
3. Withdrawal shall not exempt the withdrawing Party from fulfilling any obligations it might have incurred under this Convention.

ARTICLE 28

Depository

The Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity shall be the Depository for this Convention and of any Protocol thereto.

ARTICLE 29

Registration

This Convention, as soon as it enters into force, shall be registered with the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization (UNO) in conformity with Article 102 of the Charter of the UNO.

Article 30

Authentic Texts

The Arabic, English, French and Portuguese texts of this Convention are equally authentic.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, being duly authorized to that effect, have signed this Convention. Adopted in Bamako, Mali, on 30 January, 1991

Annex I5

Categories of Wastes which Are Hazardous Wastes

Waste Streams:

Y0 All wastes containing or contaminated by radionuclides, the concentration or properties of which result from human activity;

Y1 Clinical wastes from medical care in hospitals, medical centres and clinics;

Y2 Wastes from the production and preparation of pharmaceutical products;

Y3 Waste pharmaceutical, drugs and medicines;

Y4 Wastes from the production, formulation and use of biocides and phytopharmaceuticals;

Y5 Wastes from the manufacture, formulation and use of organic solvents;

Y6 Wastes from the production, formulation and use of organic solvents;

Y7 Wastes from heat treatment and tempering operations containing cyanides;

Y8 Waste mineral oils unfit for their originally intended use;

Y9 Waste oils/water, hydrocarbons/water mixtures, emulsions;

Y10 Waste substances and articles containing or contaminated with polychlorinated biphenyl (PCBs) and/or polychlorinated terphenyls (PCTs) and/or polybrominated biphenyl (PBBs);

Y11 Wastes tarry residues arising from refining, distillation and any pyrolytic treatment;

Y12 Wastes from production, formulation and use of inks, dyes, pigments, paints, lacquers, varnish;

Y13 Wastes from production, formulation and use of resins, latex, plasticizers, glues/adhesives;

Y14 Waste chemical substances arising from research and development or teaching activities which are not identified and/or are new and whose effects on man and/or the environment are not known;

Y15 Wastes of an explosive nature not subject to other legislation;

Y16 Wastes from production, formulation and use of photographic chemicals and processing materials;

Y17 Wastes resulting from surface treatment of metals and plastics;

Y18 Residues arising from industrial waste disposal operations;

Y46 Wastes collected from households, including sewage and sewage sludges;

Y47 Residues arising from the incineration of household wastes;

Wastes having as constituents:

Y19 Metal carbonyls;

Y20 Beryllium; beryllium compounds;

Y21 Hexavalent chromium compounds;

Y22 Copper compounds;

Y23 Zinc compounds

Y24 Arsenic, arsenic compounds;

Y25 Selenium; selenium compounds;

Y26 Cadmium; cadmium compounds;

Y27 Antimony; antimony compounds;

Y28 Tellurium; tellurium compounds;

Y29 Mercury, mercury compounds;

Y30 Thallium; thallium compounds;

Y31 Lead; lead compounds;

Y32 Inorganic fluorine compounds excluding calcium fluoride;

Y33 Inorganic cyanides;

Y34 Acidic solutions or acids in solid form;

Y35 Basic solutions or bases in solid form;

Y36 Asbestos (dust and fibres);

Y37 Organic phosphorous compounds;

Y38 Organic cyanides;

Y39 Phenols; phenol compounds including chlorophenols;

Y40 Ethers;

Y41 Halogenated organic solvents;

Y42 Organic solvents excluding halogenated solvents;

Y43 Any congener of polychlorinated dibenzo-furan;

Y44 Any congener of polychlorinated dibenzo-p-dioxin;

Y45 Organohalogen compounds other than substances referred to in this Annex (e.g.,

Y39, Y41, Y42, Y43, Y44).

ANNEX II

LIST OF HAZARDOUS CHARACTERISTICS

UN code Characteristics

Class*

I H1 Explosive

An explosive substance or waste is a solid or liquid substance or waste (or mixture of substances or wastes) which is in itself capable by chemical reaction or producing gas at such a temperature and pressure and at such a speed as to cause damage to the surroundings.

* Corresponds to the hazardous classification system included in the United Nations Recommendations on the Transport of Dangerous Goods (ST/Secretary

General/AC.10/1/Rev.5, United Nations, New York, 1988). H3 Flammable liquids

The word “flammable” has the same meaning as “inflammable”. Flammable liquids are liquids, or mixtures of liquids, or liquids containing solids in solution or suspension (for example paints, varnishes, lacquers, etc., but not including substances or wastes otherwise classified on account of their dangerous characteristics) which give off a flammable vapour at temperatures of not more than 60.5 degrees C, closed cup test, or not more than 65.6 degrees C, open-cup test. (Since the results of open-cup tests and of closed-cup tests are not strictly comparable and even individual results by the same test are often variable, regulations varying from the above figures to make allowance for such difference would be within the spirit of this definition).

4.1 H4.1 Flammable solids

Solids, or waste solids, other than those classed as explosives, which under conditions encountered in transport are readily combustible, or may cause or contribute to fire through friction.

4.2 H4.2 Substances or wastes liable to spontaneous combustion

Substances or wastes which are liable to spontaneous heating under normal conditions encountered in transport, or to heating up on contact with air, and being then liable to catch fire.

4.3 H4.3 Substances or wastes which, by interaction with water are liable to become spontaneously flammable or to give off flammable gases in dangerous quantities.

5.1 H5.1 Oxidizing

Substances or wastes which, while in themselves not necessarily combustible, may, generally by yielding oxygen, cause or contribute to the combustion of other materials.

5.2 H5.2 Organic peroxides

Organic substances or wastes which contain the bivalent-O-O-structure are thermally unstable substances which may undergo exothermic self-accelerating decomposition.

6.1 H6.1 Poisonous (Acute)

Substances or wastes liable either to cause death or serious injury or to harm human health if swallowed or inhaled or by skin contact.

6.2 H6.2 Infectious substances

Substances or wastes containing viable microorganisms or their toxins which are known or suspected to cause disease in animals or humans.

8 H8 Corrosives

Substances or wastes which, by chemical action, will cause severe damage when in contact with living tissue, or in the case of leakage, will materially damage, or even destroy other goods or the means of transport; they may also cause other hazards.

9 H10 Liberation of toxic gases in contact with air or water.

Substances or wastes which, by interaction with air or water, are liable to give off toxic gases in dangerous quantities.

9 H11 Toxic (Delayed or chronic)

Substances or wastes which, if they are inhaled or ingested or if they penetrate the skin, may involve delayed or chronic effects, including carcinogenicity.

9 H12 Exotoxic

Substances or wastes which if released present or may present immediate or delayed adverse impacts to the environment by means of bioaccumulation and/or toxic effects upon biotic systems.

9 H13 Capable, by any means, after disposal, of yielding another material, e.g., leachate, which possesses any of the characteristics listed above.

ANNEX III

DISPOSAL OPERATIONS

D1 Deposit into or onto land, (e.g., landfill, etc.)

D2 Land treatment, (e.g., biodegradation of liquid or sludgy discards in soils, etc.)

D3 Deep injection, (e.g., injection of pumpable discards into wells, salt domes or naturally occurring repositories, etc.)

D4 Surface impoundment, (e.g., placement of liquid or sludge discards into pits, ponds, or lagoons, etc.)

D5 Specially engineered landfill, (e.g., placement into lined discrete cells which are

capped and isolated from one another and the environment, etc.)

D6 Release into a water body except seas/oceans

D7 Release into seas/oceans including sea-bed insertion

D8 Biological treatment not specified elsewhere in this Annex which results in final compound or mixtures which are discarded by means of any of the operations in Annex

III

D9 Physico-chemical treatment not specified elsewhere in this Annex which results in final compounds or mixtures which are discarded by means of any of the operations in

Annex III, (e.g., evaporation, drying, calcination, neutralization, precipitation, etc.)

D10 Incineration on land

D11 Incineration at sea

D12 Permanent storage, (e.g., emplacement of containers in a mine, etc.)

D13 Blending or mixing prior to submission to any of the operations in Annex III

D14 Repackaging prior to submission to any of the operations in Annex III

D15 Storage pending any of the operations in Annex III

D16 Use as a fuel (other than in direct incineration) or other means to generate energy

D17 Solvent reclamation/regeneration

D18 Recycling/reclamation of organic substances which are not used as solvents

D19 Recycling/reclamation of metals and metal compounds

D20 Recycling/reclamation of other inorganic materials

D21 Regeneration of acids and bases

D22 Recovery of components used for pollution abatement

D23 Recovery of components from catalysts

D24 Used oil re-refining or other reuses of previously used oil

D25 Land treatment resulting in benefit to agriculture or ecological improvement

D26 Uses of residual materials obtained from any of the operations numbered D1-D25

D27 Exchange of wastes for submission to any of the operations numbered D1-D26

ANNEX IV A

INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED ON NOTIFICATION

1. Reason for waste export
2. Exporter of the waste 1/
3. Generator(s) of the waste and site of generation 1/
4. Importer and Disposer of the waste and actual site of disposal 1/
5. Intended carrier(s) of the waste or their agents, if known 1/
6. Country of export of the waste
Competent authority 2/
7. Countries of transit
Competent authority 2/
8. Country of import of the waste
Competent authority 2/
9. Projected date of shipment and period of time over which waste is to be exported and
proposed itinerary (including point of entry and exit)
10. Means of transport envisaged (road, rail, sea, air, inland waters)
11. Information relating to insurance^{3/}
12. Designation and physical description of the waste including Y number and UN
number and its composition 4/ and information on any special handling requirements including emergency provisions in case of accidents
13. Type of packing envisaged (e.g. bulk, drummer, tanker)
14. Estimated quantity in weight/volume
15. Process by which the waste is generated 5/
16. Waste classifications from Annex II of this Convention: Hazardous characteristics, H number, and UN class
17. Method of disposal as per annex III of this Convention
18. Declaration by the generator and exporter that the information is correct

NOTES

- 1/ Full name and address, telephone, telex or telefax number and the name, address,
telephone, telex, or telefax number of the person to be contacted.
- 2/ Full name and address, telephone, telex or telefax number.
- 3/ Information to be provided on relevant insurance requirements and how they are met by exporter, carrier, and disposer.

4/ The nature and the concentration of the most hazardous components, in terms of toxicity and other dangers presented by the waste both in handling and in relation to the proposed disposal method.

5/ In so far as this is necessary to assess the hazard and determine the appropriateness of the proposed disposal operations.

19. Information transmitted (including technical description of the plant) to the exporter or generator from the disposer of the waste upon which the latter has based his assessment that there was no reason to believe that the wastes will not be managed in an environmentally sound manner in accordance with the laws and regulations of the country of import.

20. Information concerning the contract between the exporter and disposer.

ANNEX IV B

INFORMATION TO BE PROVIDED ON THE MOVEMENT DOCUMENT

1. Exporter of the waste 1/
2. Generator(s) of the waste and site of generation 1/
3. Disposer of the waste and actual site of disposal 1/
4. Carrier(s) of the waste 1/ or his agent(s)
5. The date the transboundary movement started and date(s) and signature on receipt by each person who take charge of the waste
6. Means of transport (road, rail, inland waterway, sea, air) including countries or export, transit and import, also point of entry and exist where have been designated.

NOTES

The information required on the movement document shall where possible be integrated into one document with that required under transport rules. Where this is not possible, the information should complement rather than duplicate that required under the transport rules. The movement document shall carry instructions as to who is to provide information and fill-out any form.

1/ Full name and address, telephone, telex or telefax number of the person to be contacted in case of emergency.

7. General description of the waste (physical state, proper UN shipping name and class, UN number, Y number and H number as applicable)

8. Information on special handling requirements including emergency provisions in case of accidents

9. Type and number of packages

10. Quantity in weight/volume
11. Declaration by the generator or exporter that the information is correct
12. Declaration by the generator or exporter indicating no objection from the competent authorities of all States concerned
13. Certification by disposer of receipt at designated disposal facility and indication of method of disposal and of the appropriate date of disposal

ANNEX V

ARBITRATION

Article 1

Unless the agreement referred to in Article 20 of the Convention provides otherwise, the arbitration procedure shall be conducted in accordance with Articles 2 to 10 below.

Article 2

The claimant Party shall notify the Secretariat that the Parties have agreed to submit the dispute to arbitration pursuant to paragraph 1 or paragraph 2 of Article 20 of this Convention and include, in particular, the Articles of the Convention, and the interpretation or application of which are at issue. The Secretariat shall forward the information thus received to all Parties to the Convention.

Article 3

The arbitral tribunal shall consist of three members. Each of the Parties to the dispute shall appoint an arbitrator, and the two arbitrators so appointed shall designate by common agreement the third arbitrator, who shall be the chairman of the tribunal. The latter shall not be a national of one of the parties to the dispute, nor have his usual place of residence in one of the Parties, nor be employed by any of them, nor have dealt with the case in any other capacity.

Article 4

1. If the chairman of the arbitral tribunal has not been designated within two months of the appointment of the second arbitrator, the Secretary General of the OAU shall, at the request of either Party, designate him within a further two months period.

2. If one of the Parties to the dispute does not appoint an arbitrator within two months of the receipt of the request, the other Party may inform the

Secretary General of the OAU who shall designate the chairman of the arbitral tribunal within a further two months period. Upon designation, the chairman of the arbitral tribunal shall request the Party which has not appointed an arbitrator to do so within two months. After such period, he shall inform the Secretary General of the OAU who shall make this appointment within a further two month's period.

Article 5

1. The arbitral tribunal shall render its decision in accordance with international law and in accordance with the provisions of this Convention.

2. Any arbitral tribunal constituted under the provisions of this Annex shall draw up its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 6

1. The decisions of the arbitral tribunal both on procedure and on substance, shall be taken by majority vote of its members.

2. The tribunal may take all appropriate measures in order to establish the facts. It may, at the request of one of the Parties, recommend essential interim measures of protection.

3. The Parties to the dispute shall provide all facilities necessary for the effective conduct of the proceedings.

4. The absence or default of a Party in the dispute shall not constitute an impediment to the proceedings.

Article 7

The tribunal may hear and determine counter-claims arising directly out of the subjects matter of the dispute.

Article 8

Unless the arbitral tribunal determines otherwise because of the particular circumstances of the case, the expenses of the tribunal, including the remuneration of its members, shall be borne by the Parties to the dispute in equal shares. The tribunal shall keep a record of all its expenses, and shall furnish a final statement thereof to the Parties.

Article 9

Any Party that has an interest of a legal nature in the subject-matter of the dispute which may be affected by the decision in the case, may intervene in the proceedings with the consent of the tribunal.

Article 10

1. The tribunal shall render its award within five months of the date on which it is

established unless it finds it necessary to extend the time-limit for a period which should not exceed five months.

2. The award of the arbitral tribunal shall be accompanied by a statement of reasons. It shall be final and binding upon the Parties to the dispute.

3. Any dispute which may arise between the Parties concerning the interpretation or execution of the award may be submitted by either Party to the arbitral tribunal which made the award or, if the latter cannot be seized thereof, to another tribunal constituted for this purpose in the same manner as the first.

Adopted By The Conference Of
Environment Ministers At
Bamako, Mali
January 1991

Algeria
Angola
Benin
Botswana
Burkina Faso
Burundi
Cameroon
Cape Verde
Central African Republic
Chad
Comoros
Congo
Cote D'ivoire
Djibouti
Egypt
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Gabon
Gambia
Ghana
Guinea

Guinea Bissau
Kenya
Lesotho
Liberia
Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
Madagascar
Malawi
Mali
Mauritania
Mauritius
Mozambique
Namibia
Niger
Nigeria
Rwanda
Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic
Sao Tome And Principe
Senegal
Seychelles
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Sudan
Swaziland
Tanzania
Togo
Tunisia
Uganda
Zaire
Zambia
Zimbabwe

Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights

The Member States of the Organization of African Unity hereinafter referred to as the OAU, States Parties to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights:

Considering that the Charter of the Organization of African Unity recognizes that freedom, equality, justice, peace and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples;

Noting that the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights reaffirms adherence to the principles of human and peoples' rights, freedoms and duties contained in the declarations, conventions and other instruments adopted by the Organization of African Unity, and other international organizations;

Recognizing that the twofold objective of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights is to ensure on the one hand promotion and on the other protection of human and peoples' rights, freedoms and duties;

Recognizing further, the efforts of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in the promotion and protection of human and peoples' rights since its inception in 1987;

Recalling resolution AHG/Res.230 (XXX) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in June 1994 in Tunis, Tunisia, requesting the Secretary-General to convene a Government experts' meeting to ponder, in conjunction with the African Commission, over the means to enhance the efficiency of the African Commission and to consider in particular the establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights;

Noting the first and second Government legal experts' meetings held respectively in Cape Town, South Africa (September, 1995) and Nouakchott, Mauritania (April, 1997), and the third Government Legal Experts meeting held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia (December, 1997), which was enlarged to include Diplomats;

Firmly convinced that the attainment of the objectives of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights requires the establishment of an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights to complement and reinforce the functions of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:

Article 1 Establishment Of The Court

There shall be established within the Organization of African Unity an African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights (hereinafter referred to as "the Court"), the organization, jurisdiction and functioning of which shall be governed by the present Protocol.

Article 2 Relationship Between The Court And The Commission

The Court shall, bearing in mind the provisions of this Protocol, complement the protective mandate of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (hereinafter referred to as "the Commission") conferred upon it by the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (hereinafter referred to as "the Charter").

Article 3 Jurisdiction

1. The jurisdiction of the Court shall extend to all cases and disputes submitted to it concerning the interpretation and application of the Charter, this Protocol and any other relevant Human Rights instrument ratified by the States concerned.

2. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the Court shall decide.

Article 4 Advisory Opinions

1. At the request of a Member State of the OAU, the OAU, any of its organs, or any African organization recognized by the OAU, the Court may provide an opinion on any legal matter relating to the Charter or any other relevant human rights instruments, provided that the subject matter of the opinion is not related to a matter being examined by the Commission.

2. The Court shall give reasons for its advisory opinions provided that every judge shall be entitled to deliver a separate or dissenting decision.

Article 5 ACCESS To The Court

1. The following are entitled to submit cases to the Court
 - a. The Commission;
 - b. The State Party which has lodged a complaint to the Commission;
 - c. The State Party against which the complaint has been lodged at the Commission;
 - d. The State Party whose citizen is a victim of human rights violation;

e. African Intergovernmental Organizations.

2. When a State Party has an interest in a case, it may submit a request to the Court to be permitted to join.

3. The Court may entitle relevant Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) with observer status before the Commission, and individuals to institute cases directly before it, in accordance with article 34 (6) of this Protocol.

Article 6 Admissibility Of Cases

1. The Court, when deciding on the admissibility of a case instituted under article 5 (3) of this Protocol, may request the opinion of the Commission which shall give it as soon as possible.

2. The Court shall rule on the admissibility of cases taking into account the provisions of article 56 of the Charter.

3. The Court may consider cases or transfer them to the Commission.

Article 7 Sources Of Law

The Court shall apply the provisions of the Charter and any other relevant human rights instruments ratified by the States concerned.

Article 8 Consideration Of Cases

The Rules of Procedure of the Court shall lay down the detailed conditions under which the Court shall consider cases brought before it, bearing in mind the complementarity between the Commission and the Court.

Article 9 Amicable Settlement

The Court may try to reach an amicable settlement in a case pending before it in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

Article 10 Hearings And Representation

1. The Court shall conduct its proceedings in public. The Court may, however, conduct proceedings in camera as may be provided for in the Rules of Procedure.

2. Any party to a case shall be entitled to be represented by a legal representative of the party's choice. Free legal representation may be provided where the interests of justice so require.

3. Any person, witness or representative of the parties, who appears before the Court, shall enjoy protection and all facilities, in accordance with

international law, necessary for the discharging of their functions, tasks and duties in relation to the Court.

Article 11 Composition

1. The Court shall consist of eleven judges, nationals of Member States of the OAU, elected in an individual capacity from among jurists of high moral character and of recognized practical, judicial or academic competence and experience in the field of human and peoples' rights.

2. No two judges shall be nationals of the same State.

Article 12 Nominations

1. States Parties to the Protocol may each propose up to three candidates, at least two of whom shall be nationals of that State.

2. Due consideration shall be given to adequate gender representation in the nomination process.

Article 13 LIST OF CANDIDATES

1. Upon entry into force of this Protocol, the Secretary-General of the OAU shall request each State Party to the Protocol to present, within ninety (90) days of such a request, its nominees for the office of judge of the Court.

2. The Secretary-General of the OAU shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of the candidates nominated and transmit it to the Member States of the OAU at least thirty days prior to the next session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU hereinafter referred to as "the Assembly".

Article 14 Elections

1. The judges of the Court shall be elected by secret ballot by the Assembly from the list referred to in Article 13 (2) of the present Protocol.

2. The Assembly shall ensure that in the Court as a whole there is representation of the main regions of Africa and of their principal legal traditions.

3. In the election of the judges, the Assembly shall ensure that there is adequate gender representation.

Article 15 Term Of Office

1. The judges of the Court shall be elected for a period of six years and may be re-elected only once. The terms of four judges elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years, and the terms of four more judges shall expire at the end of four years.

2. The judges whose terms are to expire at the end of the initial periods of two and four years shall be chosen by lot to be drawn by the Secretary-General of the OAU immediately after the first election has been completed.

3. A judge elected to replace a judge whose term of office has not expired shall hold office for the remainder of the predecessor's term.

4. All judges except the President shall perform their functions on a part-time basis. However, the Assembly may change this arrangement as it deems appropriate.

Article 16 Oath Of Office

After their election, the judges of the Court shall make a solemn declaration to discharge their duties impartially and faithfully.

Article 17 Independence

1. The independence of the judges shall be fully ensured in accordance with international law.

2. No judge may hear any case in which the same judge has previously taken part as agent, counsel or advocate for one of the parties or as a member of a national or international court or a commission of enquiry or in any other capacity. Any doubt on this point shall be settled by decision of the Court.

3. The judges of the Court shall enjoy, from the moment of their election and throughout their term of office, the immunities extended to diplomatic agents in accordance with international law.

4. At no time shall the judges of the Court be held liable for any decision or opinion issued in the exercise of their functions.

Article 18 Incompatibility

The position of judge of the Court is incompatible with any activity that might interfere with the independence or impartiality of such a judge or the demands of the office, as determined in the Rules of Procedure of the Court.

Article 19 Cessation Of Office

1. A judge shall not be suspended or removed from office unless, by the unanimous decision of the other judges of the Court, the judge concerned has been found to be no longer fulfilling the required conditions to be a judge of the Court.

2. Such a decision of the Court shall become final unless it is set aside by the Assembly at its next session.

Article 20 Vacancies

1. In case of death or resignation of a judge of the Court, the President of the Court shall

immediately inform the Secretary General of the Organization of African Unity, who shall declare the seat vacant from the date of death or from the date on which the resignation takes effect.

2. The Assembly shall replace the judge whose office became vacant unless the remaining period of the term is less than one hundred and eighty (180) days.

3. The same procedure and considerations as set out in Articles 12, 13 and 14 shall be followed for the filling of vacancies.

Article 21 Presidency Of The Court

1. The Court shall elect its President and one Vice-President for a period of two years. They may be re-elected only once.

2. The President shall perform judicial functions on a full-time basis and shall reside at the seat of the Court.

3. The functions of the President and the Vice-President shall be set out in the Rules of Procedure of the Court.

Article 22 Exclusion

If a judge is a national of any State which is a party to a case submitted to the Court, that judge shall not hear the case.

Article 23 Quorum

The Court shall examine cases brought before it, if it has a quorum of at least seven judges.

Article 24 Registry Of The Court

1. The Court shall appoint its own Registrar and other staff of the registry from among nationals of Member States of the OAU according to the Rules of Procedure.

2. The office and residence of the Registrar shall be at the place where the Court has its seat.

Article 25 Seat Of The Court

1. The Court shall have its seat at the place determined by the Assembly from among States parties to this Protocol. However, it may convene in the

territory of any Member State of the OAU when the majority of the Court considers it desirable, and with the prior consent of the State concerned.

2. The seat of the Court may be changed by the Assembly after due consultation with the Court.

Article 26 Evidence

1. The Court shall hear submissions by all parties and if deemed necessary, hold an enquiry. The States concerned shall assist by providing relevant facilities for the efficient handling of the case.

2. The Court may receive written and oral evidence including expert testimony and shall make its decision on the basis of such evidence.

Article 27 Findings

1. If the Court finds that there has been violation of a human or peoples' right, it shall make appropriate orders to remedy the violation, including the payment of fair compensation or reparation.

2. In cases of extreme gravity and urgency, and when necessary to avoid irreparable harm to persons, the Court shall adopt such provisional measures as it deems necessary.

Article 28 Judgment

1. The Court shall render its judgment within ninety (90) days of having completed its deliberations.

2. The judgment of the Court decided by majority shall be final and not subject to appeal.

3. Without prejudice to sub-article 2 above, the Court may review its decision in the light of new evidence under conditions to be set out in the Rules of Procedure.

4. The Court may interpret its own decision.

5. The judgment of the Court shall be read in open court, due notice having been given to the parties.

6. Reasons shall be given for the judgment of the Court.

7. If the judgment of the Court does not represent, in whole or in part, the unanimous decision of the judges, any judge shall be entitled to deliver a separate or dissenting opinion.

Article 29 Notification Of Judgment

1. The parties to the case shall be notified of the judgment of the Court and it shall be transmitted to the Member States of the OAU and the Commission.

2. The Council of Ministers shall also be notified of the judgment and shall monitor its execution on behalf of the Assembly.

Article 30 Execution Of Judgment

The States parties to the present Protocol undertake to comply with the judgment in any case to which they are parties within the time stipulated by the Court and to guarantee its execution.

Article 31 Report

The Court shall submit to each regular session of the Assembly, a report on its work during the previous year. The report shall specify, in particular, the cases in which a State has not complied with the Court's judgment.

Article 32 Budget

Expenses of the Court, emoluments and allowances for judges and the budget of its registry, shall be determined and borne by the OAU, in accordance with criteria laid down by the OAU in consultation with the Court.

Article 33 Rules Of Procedure

The Court shall draw up its Rules and determine its own procedures. The Court shall consult the Commission as appropriate.

Article 34 Ratification

1. This Protocol shall be open for signature and ratification or accession by any State Party to the Charter.

2. The instrument of ratification or accession to the present Protocol shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the OAU.

3. The Protocol shall come into force thirty days after fifteen instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited.

4. For any State Party ratifying or acceding subsequently, the present Protocol shall come into force in respect of that State on the date of the deposit of its instrument of ratification or accession.

5. The Secretary-General of the OAU shall inform all Member States of the entry into force of the present Protocol.

6. At the time of the ratification of this Protocol or any time thereafter, the State shall make a declaration accepting the competence of the Court to receive cases under article 5

(3) of this Protocol. The Court shall not receive any petition under article 5 (3) involving
a State Party which has not made such a declaration.

7. Declarations made under sub-article (6) above shall be deposited with the Secretary General, who shall transmit copies thereof to the State parties.

Article 35 Amendments

1. The present Protocol may be amended if a State Party to the Protocol makes a written request to that effect to the Secretary-General of the OAU. The Assembly may adopt, by simple majority, the draft amendment after all the States Parties to the present Protocol have been duly informed of it and the Court has given its opinion on the amendment.

2. The Court shall also be entitled to propose such amendments to the present Protocol as it may deem necessary, through the Secretary-General of the OAU.

3. The amendment shall come into force for each State Party which has accepted it thirty days after the Secretary-General of the OAU has received notice of the acceptance.

Annex 17

Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union

WE, the Heads of State and Government of the Member States of the African Union;

CONSIDERING the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, as well as the Charter of the United Nations;

RECALLING the Declaration on the establishment, within the Organization of African Unity (OAU), of a Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution, adopted by the 29th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Cairo, Egypt, from 28 to 30 June 1993;

RECALLING also Decision AHG/Dec.160 (XXXVII) adopted by the 37th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Lusaka, Zambia, from 9 to 11 July 2001, by which the Assembly decided to incorporate the Central Organ of the OAU Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution as one of the organs of the Union, in accordance with Article 5(2) of the Constitutive Act of the

African Union, and, in the regard, requested the Secretary-General to undertake a review of the structures, procedures and working methods of the Central Organ, including the possibility of changing its name; MINDFUL of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, conferring on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, as well as the provisions of the Charter on the role of regional arrangements or agencies in the maintenance of international peace and security, and the need to forge closer cooperation and partnership between the United Nations, other international organizations and the African Union, in the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa;

ACKNOWLEDGING the contribution of African Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in the maintenance and promotion of peace, security and stability on the Continent and the need to develop formal coordination and cooperation arrangements between these

Regional Mechanisms and the African Union;

RECALLING Decisions AHG/Dec.141 (XXXV) and AHG/Dec.142 (XXXV) on Unconstitutional Changes of Government, adopted by the 35th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OA held in Algiers, Algeria, from 12 to 14 July 1999, and Declaration AHG/Decl.5 (XXXVI) on the Framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government, adopted by the 36th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Lomé, Togo, from 10 to 12 July 2000; REAFFIRMING our commitment to Solemn Declaration AHG/Decl.4 (XXXVI) on the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa (CSSDCA), adopted by the 36th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Lomé, Togo, from 10 to 12 July 2000, as well as Declaration AHG/Decl.1 (XXXVII) on the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which was adopted by the 37th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Lusaka, Zambia, from 9 to 11 July 2001;

AFFIRMING our further commitment to Declaration AHG/Decl.2 (XXX) on the Code of Conduct for Inter-African Relations, adopted by the 30th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Tunis, Tunisia, from 13 to 15 June 1994, as well as the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism, adopted by the 35th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU held in Algiers, Algeria, from 12 to 14 July 1999;

CONCERNED about the continued prevalence of armed conflicts in Africa and the fact that no single internal factor has contributed more to socioeconomic decline on the Continent and the suffering of the civilian population than the scourge of conflicts within and between our States;

CONCERNED ALSO by the fact that conflicts have forced millions of our people, including women and children, into a drifting life as refugees and internally displaced persons, deprived of their means of livelihood, human dignity and hope;

CONCERNED FURTHER about the scourge of landmines in the Continent and RECALLING, in this respect, the Plan of Action on a Landmine Free Africa, adopted by the 1st Continental Conference of African Experts on Anti-Personnel Mines, held in Kempton Park, South Africa, from 17 to 19 May 1997, and endorsed by the 66th Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers, held in Harare, Zimbabwe, from 26 to 30 May 1997, as well as subsequent decisions adopted by the OAU on this issue;

CONCERNED ALSO about the impact of the illicit proliferation, circulation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons in threatening peace and security in Africa and undermining efforts to improve the living standards of African peoples and RECALLING, in this respect, the Declaration on the Common African Position on the Illicit Proliferation, Circulation and Trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons, adopted by the OAU Ministerial Conference held in Bamako, Mali, from 30 November to 1 December 2000, as well as all subsequent OAU decisions on this issue;

AWARE that the problems caused by landmines and the illicit proliferation, circulation and trafficking of small arms and light weapons constitute a serious impediment to Africa's social and economic development, and that they can only be resolved within the framework of increased and well-coordinated continental cooperation;

AWARE ALSO of the fact that the development of strong democratic institutions and culture, observance of human rights and the rule of law, as well as the implementation of post-conflict recovery programmes and

sustainable development policies, are essential for the promotion of collective security, durable peace and stability, as well as for the prevention of conflicts;

DETERMINED to enhance our capacity to address the scourge of conflicts on the Continent and to ensure that Africa, through the African Union, plays a central role in bringing about peace, security and stability on the Continent;

DESIROUS of establishing an operational structure for the effective implementation of the decisions taken in the areas of conflict prevention, peace-making, peace support operations and intervention, as well as peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction, in accordance with the authority conferred in that regard by Article 5(2) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union;

HEREBY AGREE ON THE FOLLOWING:

Article 1

Definitions

For the purpose of this Protocol:

- a) “Protocol” shall mean the present Protocol;
- b) “Cairo Declaration” shall mean the Declaration on the Establishment, within the OAU, of the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution;
- c) “Lomé Declaration” shall mean the Declaration on the Framework for an OAU Response to Unconstitutional Changes of Government;
- d) “Constitutive Act” shall mean the Constitutive Act of the African Union;
- e) “Union” shall mean the African Union;
- f) “Assembly” shall mean the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the African Union;
- g) “Commission” shall mean the Commission of the African Union;
- h) “Regional Mechanisms” shall mean the African Regional Mechanisms for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution;
- i) “Member States” shall mean Member States of the African Union.

Article 2

Establishment, Nature And Structure

1. There is hereby established, pursuant to Article 5(2) of the Constitutive Act, a Peace and Security Council within the Union, as a standing decision-making organ for the prevention, management and

resolution of conflicts. The Peace and Security Council shall be a collective security and early-warning arrangement to facilitate timely and efficient response to conflict and crisis situations in Africa.

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2. The Peace and Security Council shall be supported by the Commission, a Panel of the Wise, a Continental Early Warning System, an African Standby Force and a Special Fund.

Article 3

Objectives

The objectives for which the Peace and Security Council is established shall be to:

- a. promote peace, security and stability in Africa, in order to guarantee the protection and preservation of life and property, the well-being of the African people and their environment, as well as the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development;
- b. anticipate and prevent conflicts. In circumstances where conflicts have occurred, the Peace and Security Council shall have the responsibility to undertake peace-making and peacebuilding functions for the resolution of these conflicts;
- c. promote and implement peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction activities to consolidate peace and prevent the resurgence of violence;
- d. co-ordinate and harmonize continental efforts in the prevention and combating of international terrorism in all its aspects;
- e. develop a common defence policy for the Union, in accordance with article 4(d) of the Constitutive Act;
- f. promote and encourage democratic practices, good governance and the rule of law, protect human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law, as part of efforts for preventing conflicts.

Article 4

Principles

The Peace and Security Council shall be guided by the principles enshrined in the Constitutive Act, the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It shall, in particular, be guided by the

following principles:

- a. peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts;
- b. early responses to contain crisis situations so as to prevent them from developing into full-blown conflicts;
- c. respect for the rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedoms, the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law;
- d. interdependence between socio-economic development and the security of peoples and States;
- e. respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States;
- f. non-interference by any Member State in the internal affairs of another;
- g. sovereign equality and interdependence of Member States;
- h. inalienable right to independent existence;
- i. respect of borders inherited on achievement of independence;
- j. the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity, in accordance with Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act;
- k. the right of Member States to request intervention from the Union in order to restore peace and security, in accordance with Article 4(j) of the Constitutive Act.

Article 5

Composition

1. The Peace and Security Council shall be composed of fifteen Members elected on the basis of equal rights, in the following manner:
 - a. ten Members elected for a term of two years; and
 - b. five Members elected for a term of three years in order to ensure continuity.
2. In electing the Members of the Peace and Security Council, the Assembly shall apply the principle of equitable regional representation and rotation, and the following criteria with regard to each prospective Member State:
 - a. commitment to uphold the principles of the Union;
 - b. contribution to the promotion and maintenance of peace and security in Africa – in this respect, experience in peace support

- operations would be an added advantage;
 - c. capacity and commitment to shoulder the responsibilities entailed in membership;
 - d. participation in conflict resolution, peace-making and peacebuilding at regional and continental levels;
 - e. willingness and ability to take up responsibility for regional and continental conflict resolution initiatives;
 - f. contribution to the Peace Fund and/or Special Fund created for specific purpose;
 - g. respect for constitutional governance, in accordance with the Lomé Declaration, as well as the rule of law and human rights;
 - h. having sufficiently staffed and equipped Permanent Missions at the Headquarters of the Union and the United Nations, to be able to shoulder the responsibilities which go with the membership; and
 - j. commitment to honour financial obligations to the Union.
3. A retiring Member of the Peace and Security Council shall be eligible for immediate re-election.
4. There shall be a periodic review by the Assembly to assess the extent to which the Members of the Peace and Security Council continue to meet the requirements spelt out in article 5 (2) and to take action as appropriate.

Article 6

Functions

The Peace and Security Council shall perform functions in the following areas:

- a. promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa;
- b. early warning and preventive diplomacy;
- c. peace-making, including the use of good offices, mediation, conciliation and enquiry;
- d. peace support operations and intervention, pursuant to article 4 (h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act;
- e. peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction;
- f. humanitarian action and disaster management;
- g. any other function as may be decided by the Assembly.

Article 7

Powers

1. In conjunction with the Chairperson of the Commission, the Peace

and Security Council shall:

- a. anticipate and prevent disputes and conflicts, as well as policies that may lead to genocide and crimes against humanity;
- b. undertake peace-making and peace-building functions to resolve conflicts where they have occurred;
- c. authorize the mounting and deployment of peace support missions;
- d. lay down general guidelines for the conduct of such missions, including the mandate thereof, and undertake periodic reviews of these guidelines;
- e. recommend to the Assembly, pursuant to Article 4(h) of the Constitutive Act, intervention, on behalf of the Union, in a Member State in respect of grave circumstances, namely war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity, as defined in relevant international conventions and instruments;
- f. approve the modalities for intervention by the Union in a Member State, following a decision by the Assembly, pursuant to article 4(j) of the Constitutive Act;
- g. institute sanctions whenever an unconstitutional change of Government takes place in a Member State, as provided for in the Lomé Declaration;
- h. implement the common defense policy of the Union;
- i. ensure the implementation of the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism and other relevant international, continental and regional conventions and instruments and harmonize and coordinate efforts at regional and continental levels to combat international terrorism;
- j. promote close harmonization, co-ordination and co-operation between Regional Mechanisms and the Union in the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa;
- k. promote and develop a strong “partnership for peace and security” between the Union and the United Nations and its agencies, as well as with other relevant international organizations;
- l. develop policies and action required to ensure that any external initiative in the field of peace and security on the continent takes place within the framework of the Union’s

objectives and priorities;

m. follow-up, within the framework of its conflict prevention responsibilities, the progress towards the promotion of democratic practices, good governance, the rule of law, protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for the sanctity of human life and international humanitarian law by Member States;

n. promote and encourage the implementation of OAU/AU, UN and other relevant international Conventions and Treaties on arms control and disarmament;

o. examine and take such appropriate action within its mandate in situations where the national independence and sovereignty of a Member State is threatened by acts of aggression, including by mercenaries;

p. support and facilitate humanitarian action in situations of armed conflicts or major natural disasters;

q. submit, through its Chairperson, regular reports to the Assembly on its activities and the state of peace and security in Africa; and

r. decide on any other issue having implications for the maintenance of peace, security and stability on the Continent and exercise powers that may be delegated to it by the Assembly, in accordance with Article 9 (2) of the Constitutive Act.

2. The Member States agree that in carrying out its duties under the present Protocol, the Peace and Security Council acts on their behalf.

3. The Member States agree to accept and implement the decisions of the Peace and Security Council, in accordance with the Constitutive Act.

4. The Member States shall extend full cooperation to, and facilitate action by the Peace and Security Council for the prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts, pursuant to the duties entrusted to it under the present Protocol.

Article 8

Procedure

Organization and Meetings

1. The Peace and Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to

function continuously. For this purpose, each Member of the Peace and Security Council shall, at all times, be represented at the Headquarters of the Union.

2. The Peace and Security Council shall meet at the level of Permanent Representatives, Ministers or Heads of State and Government. It shall convene as often as required at the level of Permanent Representatives, but at least twice a month. The Ministers and the Heads of State and Government shall meet at least once a year, respectively.

3. The meetings of the Peace and Security Council shall be held at the Headquarters of the Union.

4. In the event a Member State invites the Peace and Security Council to meet in its country, provided that two-thirds of the Peace and Security Council members agree, that Member State shall defray the additional expenses incurred by the Commission as a result of the meeting being held outside the Headquarters of the Union.

Subsidiary Bodies and Sub-Committees

5. The Peace and Security Council may establish such subsidiary bodies as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions. Such subsidiary bodies may include ad hoc committees for mediation, conciliation or enquiry, consisting of an individual State or group of States. The Peace and Security Council shall also seek such military, legal and other forms of expertise as it may require for the performance of its functions.

Chairmanship

6. The chair of the Peace and Security Council shall be held in turn by the Members of the Peace and Security Council in the alphabetical order of their names. Each Chairperson shall hold office for one calendar month.

Agenda

7. The provisional agenda of the Peace and Security Council shall be determined by the Chairperson of the Peace and Security Council on the basis of proposals submitted by the Chairperson of the Commission and Member States. The inclusion of any item in the provisional agenda may not be opposed by a Member State.

Quorum

8. The number of Members required to constitute a quorum shall be two-thirds of the total membership of the Peace and Security Council.

Conduct of Business

9. The Peace and Security Council shall hold closed meetings. Any

Member of the Peace and Security Council which is party to a conflict or a situation under consideration by the Peace and Security Council shall not participate either in the discussion or in the decision making process relating to that conflict or situation. Such Member shall be invited to present its case to the Peace and Security Council as appropriate, and shall, thereafter, withdraw from the proceedings.

10. The Peace and Security Council may decide to hold open meetings.

In this regard:

- a. any Member State which is not a Member of the Peace and Security Council, if it is party to a conflict or a situation under consideration by the Peace and Security Council, shall be invited to present its case as appropriate and shall participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion;
- b. any Member State which is not a Member of the Peace and Security Council may be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Peace and Security Council whenever that Member State considers that its interests are especially affected;
- c. any Regional Mechanism, international organization or civil society organization involved and/or interested in a conflict or a situation under consideration by the Peace and Security Council may be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in the discussion relating to that conflict or situation.

11. The Peace and Security Council may hold informal consultations with parties concerned by or interested in a conflict or a situation under its consideration, as well as with Regional Mechanisms, international organizations and civil society organizations as may be needed for the discharge of its responsibilities.

Voting

12. Each Member of the Peace and Security Council shall have one vote.

13. Decisions of the Peace and Security Council shall generally be guided by the principle of consensus. In cases where consensus cannot be reached, the Peace and Security Council shall adopt its decisions on procedural matters by a simple majority, while decisions on all other matters shall be made by a two-thirds majority vote of its Members voting.

Rules of Procedure

14. The Peace and Security Council shall submit its own rules of procedure, including on the convening of its meetings, the conduct of

business, the publicity and records of meetings and any other relevant aspect of its work, for consideration and approval by the Assembly.

Article 9

Entry Points And Modalities For Action

1. The Peace and Security Council shall take initiatives and action it deems appropriate with regard to situations of potential conflict, as well as to those that have already developed into full-blown conflicts. The Peace and Security Council shall also take all measures that are required in order to prevent a conflict for which a settlement has already been reached from escalating.
2. To that end, the Peace and Security Council shall use its discretion to effect entry, whether through the collective intervention of the Council itself, or through its Chairperson and/or the Chairperson of the Commission, the Panel of the Wise, and/or in collaboration with the Regional Mechanisms.

Article 10

The Role Of The Chairperson Of The Commission

1. The Chairperson of the Commission shall, under the authority of the Peace and Security Council, and in consultation with all parties involved in a conflict, deploy efforts and take all initiatives deemed appropriate to prevent, manage and resolve conflicts.
2. To this end, the Chairperson of the Commission:
 - a. shall bring to the attention of the Peace and Security Council any matter, which, in his/her opinion, may threaten peace, security and stability in the Continent;
 - b. may bring to the attention of the Panel of the Wise any matter which, in his/her opinion, deserves their attention;
 - c. may, at his/her own initiative or when so requested by the Peace and Security Council, use his/her good offices, either personally or through special envoys, special representatives, the Panel of the Wise or the Regional Mechanisms, to prevent potential conflicts, resolve actual conflicts and promote peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction.
3. The Chairperson of the Commission shall also:
 - a. ensure the implementation and follow-up of the decisions of the Peace and Security Council, including mounting and deploying peace support missions authorized by the Peace and Security Council. In this respect, the Chairperson of the

Commission shall keep the Peace and Security Council informed of developments relating to the functioning of such missions. All problems likely to affect the continued and effective functioning of these missions shall be referred to the Peace and Security Council, for its consideration and appropriate action;

b. ensure the implementation and follow-up of the decisions taken by the Assembly in conformity with Article 4 (h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act;

c. prepare comprehensive and periodic reports and documents, as required, to enable the Peace Security Council and its subsidiary bodies to perform their functions effectively.

4. In the exercise of his/her functions and powers, the Chairperson of the Commission shall be assisted by the Commissioner in charge of Peace and Security, who shall be responsible for the affairs of the Peace and Security Council. The Chairperson of the Commission shall rely on human and material resources available at the Commission, for servicing and providing support to the Peace and Security Council. In this regard, a Peace and Security Council Secretariat shall be established within the Directorate dealing with conflict prevention, management and resolution.

Article 11

Panel Of The Wise

1. In order to support the efforts of the Peace and Security Council and those of the Chairperson of the Commission, particularly in the area of conflict prevention, a Panel of the Wise shall be established.

2. The Panel of the Wise shall be composed of five highly respected African personalities from various segments of society who have made outstanding contribution to the cause of peace, security and development on the continent. They shall be selected by the Chairperson of the Commission after consultation with the Member States concerned, on the basis of regional representation and appointed by the Assembly to serve for a period of three years.

3. The Panel of the Wise shall advise the Peace and Security Council and the Chairperson of the Commission on all issues pertaining to the promotion, and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa.

4. At the request of the Peace and Security Council or the Chairperson of the Commission, or at its own initiative, the Panel of the Wise shall

undertake such action deemed appropriate to support the efforts of the Peace and Security Council and those of the Chairperson of the Commission for the prevention of conflicts, and to pronounce itself on issues relating to

the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa.

5. The Panel of the Wise shall report to the Peace and Security Council and, through the Peace and Security Council, to the Assembly.

6. The Panel of the Wise shall meet as may be required for the performance of its mandate. The Panel of the Wise shall normally hold its meetings at the Headquarters of the Union. In consultation with the Chairperson of the Commission, the Panel of the Wise may hold meetings at such places other than the Headquarters of the Union.

7. The modalities for the functioning of the Panel of the Wise shall be worked out by the Chairperson of the Commission and approved by the Peace and Security Council.

8. The allowances of members of the Panel of the Wise shall be determined by the Chairperson of the Commission in accordance with the Financial Rules and Regulations of the Union.

Article 12

Continental Early Warning System

1. In order to facilitate the anticipation and prevention of conflicts, a Continental Early Warning System to be known as the Early Warning System shall be established.

2. The Early Warning System shall consist of:

- a. an observation and monitoring centre, to be known as “The Situation Room,” located at the Conflict Management Directorate of the Union, and responsible for data collection and analysis on the basis of an appropriate early warning indicators module; and
- b. observation and monitoring units of the Regional Mechanisms to be linked directly through appropriate means of communications to the Situation Room, and which shall collect and process data at their level and transmit the same to the Situation Room.

3. The Commission shall also collaborate with the United Nations, its agencies, other relevant international organizations, research centres, academic institutions and NGOs, to facilitate the effective functioning of the Early Warning System.

4. The Early Warning System shall develop an early warning module

based on clearly defined and accepted political, economic, social, military and humanitarian indicators, which shall be used to analyse developments within the continent and to recommend the best course of action.

5. The Chairperson of the Commission shall use the information gathered through the Early Warning System timeously to advise the Peace and Security Council on potential conflicts and threats to peace and security in Africa and recommend the best course of action. The Chairperson of the Commission shall also use this information for the execution of the responsibilities and functions entrusted to him/her under the present Protocol.

6. The Member States shall commit themselves to facilitate early action by the Peace and Security Council and or the Chairperson of the Commission based on early warning information.

7. The Chairperson of the Commission shall, in consultation with Member States, the Regional Mechanisms, the United Nations and other relevant institutions, work out the practical details for the establishment of the Early Warning System and take all the steps required for its effective functioning.

Article 13

African Standby Force

Composition

1. In order to enable the Peace and Security Council perform its responsibilities with respect to the deployment of peace support missions and intervention pursuant to article 4 (h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act, an African Standby Force shall be established. Such Force shall be composed of standby multidisciplinary contingents, with civilian and military components in their countries of origin and ready for rapid deployment at appropriate notice.

2. For that purpose, the Member States shall take steps to establish standby contingents for participation in peace support missions decided on by the Peace and Security Council or intervention authorized by the Assembly. The strength and types of such contingents, their degree of readiness and general location shall be determined in accordance with established African Union Peace Support Standard Operating Procedures (SOPs), and shall be subject to periodic reviews depending on prevailing crisis and conflict situations.

Mandate

3. The African Standby Force shall, inter alia, perform functions in the following areas:

- a. observation and monitoring missions;
- b. other types of peace support missions;
- c. intervention in a Member State in respect of grave circumstances or at the request of a Member State in order to restore peace and security, in accordance with Article 4(h) and (j) of the Constitutive Act;
- d. preventive deployment in order to prevent (i) a dispute or a conflict from escalating, (ii) an ongoing violent conflict from spreading to neighbouring areas or States, and (iii) the resurgence of violence after parties to a conflict have reached an agreement.;
- e. peace-building, including post-conflict disarmament and demobilization;
- f. humanitarian assistance to alleviate the suffering of civilian population in conflict areas and support efforts to address major natural disasters; and
- g. any other functions as may be mandated by the Peace and Security Council or the Assembly.

4. In undertaking these functions, the African Standby Force shall, where appropriate, cooperate with the United Nations and its Agencies, other relevant international organizations and regional organizations, as well as with national authorities and NGOs.

5. The detailed tasks of the African Standby Force and its *modus operandi* for each authorized mission shall be considered and approved by the Peace and Security Council upon recommendation of the Commission. Chain of Command

6. For each operation undertaken by the African Standby Force, the Chairperson of the Commission shall appoint a Special Representative and a Force Commander, whose detailed roles and functions shall be spelt out in appropriate directives, in accordance with the Peace Support Standing Operating Procedures.

7. The Special Representative shall, through appropriate channels, report to the Chairperson of the Commission. The Force Commander shall report to the Special Representative. Contingent Commanders shall report to the Force

Commander, while the civilian components shall report to the Special Representative. Military Staff Committee

8. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Peace and Security Council in all questions relating to military and security requirements for the promotion and maintenance of peace and security in Africa.

9. The Military Staff Committee shall be composed of Senior Military Officers of the Members of the Peace and Security Council. Any Member State not represented on the Military Staff Committee may be invited by the Committee to participate in its deliberations when it is so required for the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities.

10. The Military Staff Committee shall meet as often as required to deliberate on matters referred to it by the Peace and Security Council.

11. The Military Staff Committee may also meet at the level of the Chief of Defence Staff of the Members of the Peace and Security Council to discuss questions relating to the military and security requirements for the promotion and maintenance of peace and security in Africa. The Chiefs of Defence Staff shall submit to the Chairperson of the Commission recommendations on how to enhance Africa's peace support capacities.

12. The Chairperson of the Commission shall take all appropriate steps for the convening of and follow-up of the meetings of the Chiefs of Defence Staff of Members of the Peace and Security Council.

Training

13. The Commission shall provide guidelines for the training of the civilian and military personnel of national standby contingents at both operational and tactical levels. Training on International Humanitarian Law and International Human Rights Law, with particular emphasis on the rights of women and children, shall be an integral part of the training of such personnel

14. To that end, the Commission shall expedite the development and circulation of appropriate Standing Operating Procedures to inter-alia:

- a. support standardization of training doctrines, manuals and programmes for national and regional schools of excellence;
- b. co-ordinate the African Standby Force training courses, command and staff exercises, as well as field training exercises.

15. The Commission shall, in collaboration with the United Nations, undertake periodic assessment of African peace support capacities.

16. The Commission shall, in consultation with the United Nations Secretariat, assist in the co-ordination of external initiatives in support of the African Standby Force capacity-building in training, logistics, equipment, communications and funding.

Role of Member States

17. In addition to their responsibilities as stipulated under the present Protocol:

- a. troop contributing countries States shall immediately, upon request by the Commission, following an authorization by the Peace and Security Council or the Assembly, release the standby contingents with the necessary equipment for the operations envisaged under Article 9 (3) of the present Protocol;
- b. Member States shall commit themselves to make available to the Union all forms of assistance and support required for the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability on the Continent, including rights of passage through their territories.

Article 14

Peace Building

Institutional Capacity for Peace-building

1. In post-conflict situations, the Peace and Security Council shall assist in the restoration of the rule of law, establishment and development of democratic institutions and the preparation, organization and supervision of elections in the concerned Member State.

Peace-building during Hostilities

2. In areas of relative peace, priority shall be accorded to the implementation of policy designed to reduce degradation of social and economic conditions arising from conflicts.

Peace-building at the End of Hostilities

3. To assist Member States that have been adversely affected by violent conflicts, the Peace and Security Council shall undertake the following activities:

- a. consolidation of the peace agreements that have been negotiated;

- b. establishment of conditions of political, social and economic reconstruction of the society and Government institutions;
- c. implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes, including those for child soldiers;
- d. resettlement and reintegration of refugees and internally displaced persons;
- e. assistance to vulnerable persons, including children, the elderly, women and other traumatized groups in the society.

Article 15

Humanitarian Action

1. The Peace and Security Council shall take active part in coordinating and conducting humanitarian action in order to restore life to normalcy in the event of conflicts or natural disasters.
2. In this regard, the Peace and Security Council shall develop its own capacity to efficiently undertake humanitarian action.
3. The African Standby Force shall be adequately equipped to undertake humanitarian activities in their mission areas under the control of the Chairperson of the Commission.
4. The African Standby Force shall facilitate the activities of the humanitarian agencies in the mission areas.

Article 16

Relationship With Regional Mechanisms For Conflict Prevention, Management And Resolution

1. The Regional Mechanisms are part of the overall security architecture of the Union, which has the primary responsibility for promoting peace, security and stability in Africa. In this respect, the Peace and Security Council and the Chairperson of the Commission, shall:
 - a) harmonize and coordinate the activities of Regional Mechanisms in the field of peace, security and stability to ensure that these activities are consistent with the objectives and principles of the Union;
 - b) work closely with Regional Mechanisms, to ensure effective partnership between them and the Peace and Security Council in the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability. The modalities of such partnership shall be determined by the comparative advantage of each and the prevailing circumstances.

2. The Peace and Security Council shall, in consultation with Regional Mechanisms, promote initiatives aimed at anticipating and preventing conflicts and, in circumstances where conflicts have occurred, peacemaking and peace-building functions.

3. In undertaking these efforts, Regional Mechanisms concerned shall, through the Chairperson of the Commission, keep the Peace and Security Council fully and continuously informed of their activities and ensure that these activities are closely harmonized and coordinated with the activities of Peace and Security Council. The Peace and Security Council shall, through the Chairperson of the Commission, also keep the Regional Mechanisms fully and continuously informed of its activities.

4. In order to ensure close harmonization and coordination and facilitate regular exchange of information, the Chairperson of the Commission shall convene periodic meetings, but at least once a year, with the Chief Executives and/or the officials in charge of peace and security within the Regional Mechanisms.

5. The Chairperson of the Commission shall take the necessary measures, where appropriate, to ensure the full involvement of Regional Mechanisms in the establishment and effective functioning of the Early Warning System and the African Standby Force.

6. Regional Mechanisms shall be invited to participate in the discussion of any question brought before the Peace and Security Council whenever that question is being addressed by a Regional Mechanism is of special interest to that Organization.

7. The Chairperson of the Commission shall be invited to participate in meetings and deliberations of Regional Mechanisms.

8. In order to strengthen coordination and cooperation, the Commission shall establish liaison offices to the Regional Mechanisms. The Regional Mechanisms shall be encouraged to establish liaison offices to the Commission.

9. On the basis of the above provisions, a Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation shall be concluded between the Commission and the Regional Mechanisms.

Article 17

Relationship With The United Nations And Other International Organizations

1. In the fulfilment of its mandate in the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa, the Peace and Security Council shall

cooperate and work closely with the United Nations Security Council, which has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. The Peace and Security Council shall also cooperate and work closely with other relevant UN Agencies in the promotion of peace, security and stability in Africa.

2. Where necessary, recourse will be made to the United Nations to provide the necessary financial, logistical and military support for the African Unions' activities in the promotion and maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa, in keeping with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the UN Charter on the role of Regional Organizations in the maintenance of international peace and security.

3. The Peace and Security Council and the Chairperson of the Commission shall maintain close and continued interaction with the United Nations Security Council, its African members, as well as with the Secretary-General, including holding periodic meetings and regular consultations on questions of peace, security and stability in Africa.

4. The Peace and Security Council shall also cooperate and work closely with other relevant international organizations on issues of peace, security and stability in Africa. Such organizations may be invited to address the Peace and Security Council on issues of common interest, if the latter considers that the efficient discharge of its responsibilities does so require.

Article 18

Relationship With The Pan African Parliament

1. The Mechanism shall maintain close working relations with the Pan-African Parliament in furtherance of peace, security and stability in Africa.

2. The Peace and Security Council shall, whenever so requested by the Pan African Parliament, submit, through the Chairperson of the Commission, reports to the Pan-African Parliament, in order to facilitate the discharge by the latter of its responsibilities relating to the maintenance of peace, security and stability in Africa.

3. The Chairperson of the Commission shall present to the Pan-African Parliament an annual report on the state of peace and security in the continent. The Chairperson of the Commission shall also take all steps required to facilitate the exercise by the Pan-African Parliament of its powers, as stipulated in Article 11 (5) of the Protocol to the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community relating to the Pan-African Parliament, as well as in Article 11 (9) in so far as it relates to the objective of promoting peace, security and stability as spelt out in Article 3 (5) of the

said Protocol.

Article 19

Relationship With The African Commission On Human And Peoples' Rights

The Peace and Security Council shall seek close cooperation with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights in all matters relevant to its objectives and mandate. The Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights shall bring to the attention of the Peace and Security Council any information relevant to the objectives and mandate of the Peace and Security Council.

Article 20

Relations With Civil Society Organizations

The Peace and Security Council shall encourage non-governmental organizations, community-based and other civil society organizations, particularly women's organizations, to participate actively in the efforts aimed at promoting peace, security and stability in Africa. When required, such organizations may be invited to address the Peace and Security Council.

Article 21

Funding

Peace Fund

1. In order to provide the necessary financial resources for peace support missions and other operational activities related to peace and security, a Special Fund, to be known as the Peace Fund, shall be established. The operations of the Peace Fund shall be governed by the relevant Financial Rules and Regulations of the Union.
2. The Peace Fund shall be made up of financial appropriations from the regular budget of Union, including arrears of contributions, voluntary contributions from Member States and from other sources within Africa, including the private sector, civil society and individuals, as well as through appropriate fund raising activities.
3. The Chairperson of the Commission shall raise and accept voluntary contributions from sources outside Africa, in conformity with the objectives and principles of the Union.
4. There shall also be established, within the Peace Fund, a revolving

Trust Fund. The appropriate amount of the revolving Trust Fund shall be determined by the relevant Policy Organs of the Union upon recommendation by the Peace and Security Council.

Assessment of Cost of Operations and Pre-financing

5. When required, and following a decision by the relevant Policy Organs of the Union, the cost of the operations envisaged under Article 13 of the present Protocol shall be assessed to Member States based on the scale of their contributions to the regular budget of the Union.
6. The States contributing contingents may be invited to bear the cost of their participation during the first three (3) months.
7. The Union shall refund the expenses incurred by the concerned contributing States within a maximum period of six (6) months and then proceed to finance the operations.

Article 22

Final Provisions

Status of the Protocol in relation to the Cairo Declaration

1. The present Protocol shall replace the Cairo Declaration.
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2. The provisions of this Protocol shall supersede the resolutions and decisions of the OAU relating to the Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution in Africa, which are in conflict with the present Protocol.

Signature, Ratification and Accession

3. The present Protocol shall be open for signature, ratification or accession by the Member States of the Union in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures.
4. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Chairperson Commission

Entry into Force

5. The present Protocol shall enter into force upon the deposit of the instruments of ratification by a simple majority of the Member States of the Union.

Amendments

6. Any amendment or revision of the present Protocol shall be in

accordance with the provisions of Article 32 of the Constitutive Act.

Depository Authority

7. This Protocol and all instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Chairperson of the Commission, who shall transmit certified true copies to all Member States and notify them of the dates of deposit of the instruments of ratification by the Member States and shall register it with the United Nations and any other Organization as may be decided by the Union.

Adopted by the 1st Ordinary Session of
the Assembly of the African Union
Durban, 9 July 2002

1. People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
2. Republic of Angola
3. Republic of Benin
4. Republic of Botswana
5. Burkina Faso
6. Republic of Burundi
7. Republic of Cameroon
8. Republic of Cape Verde
9. Central African Republic
10. Republic of Chad
11. Islamic Federal Republic of the Comoros
12. Republic of the Congo
13. Republic of Côte d'Ivoire
14. Democratic Republic of Congo
15. Republic of Djibouti
16. Arab Republic of Egypt
17. State of Eritrea
18. Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
19. Republic of Equatorial Guinea
20. Republic of Gabon
21. Republic of The Gambia
22. Republic of Ghana
23. Republic of Guinea
24. Republic of Guinea Bissau
25. Republic of Kenya
26. Kingdom of Lesotho

27. Republic of Liberia
28. Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya
29. Republic of Madagascar
30. Republic of Malawi
31. Republic of Mali
32. Islamic Republic of Mauritania
33. Republic of Mauritius
34. Republic of Mozambique
35. Republic of Namibia
36. Republic of Niger
37. Federal Republic of Nigeria
38. Republic of Rwanda
39. Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
40. Republic of Sao Tome and Principe
41. Republic of Senegal
42. Republic of Seychelles
43. Republic of Sierra Leone
44. Republic of Somalia
45. Republic of South Africa
46. Republic of Sudan
47. Kingdom of Swaziland
48. United Republic of Tanzania
49. Republic of Togo
50. Republic of Tunisia
51. Republic of Uganda
52. Republic of Zambia
53. Republic of Zimbabwe

This Book is the outcome of a long project begun thirty years ago. It is a book on the makings of pan-Africanism through the predicaments of being black in a world dominated by being white. The book is a tribute and celebration of the efforts of the African-American and African-Caribbean Diaspora who took the initiative and the audacity to fight and liberate themselves from the shackles of slavery. It is also a celebration of those Africans who in their own way carried the torch of inspiration and resilience to save and reconstruct the Free Humanism of Africa. As a story of the rise from the shackles of slavery and poverty to the summit of Victors of their Renaissance Identity and Self-Determination as a People, the book is the story of African refusal to celebrate victimhood. The book also situates women as central actors in the Pan-African project, which is often presented as an exclusively masculine endeavour. It introduces a balanced gender approach and diagnosis of the Women actors of Pan-Africanism which was very much lacking. The problem of balkanisation of Africa on post-colonial affiliations and colonial linguistic lines has taken its toll on Africa's building of its common identity and personality. The result is that Africans are more remote to each other in their pigeon-hole-nation-states which put more restrictions for African inter-mobility, coupled by education and cultural affiliations, the communication and transportation and trading networks which are still tied more to their colonial masters than among themselves. This book looks into the problem of the new wave of Pan-Africanism and what strategies that can be proposed for a more participatory Pan-Africanism inspired by the everyday realities of African masses at home and in the diaspora. This book is the first book of its kind that gives a comprehensive and multidimensional coverage of Pan-Africanism. It is a very timely and vital compendium.

DR FONGOT KINI-YEN KINNI is Dean of the Faculty of Law and Deputy Vice Chancellor in charge of Research and Cooperation, Bamenda University of Science and Technology – BUST, Bamenda, North West Region, Cameroon. He is a prolific researcher, writer, designer, artist, musician, philosopher and poet, who has travelled widely in Africa and the world.



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